THE
NACE OF SOCIALISM

W. Lawler Wilson

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THE MENACE OF SOCIALISM

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The Menace of Socialism

BY

W. Lawler Wilson

'If other States are ever to be ruled by a Jacobin faction, the advent of their power will not be marked by sanguinary professions, or the hideous display of heartless atrocity. It will be ushered in by the warmest professions of philanthropy, by boundless hopes of felicity, and professions of the utmost regard for the great principles of public justice and general happiness. . . It is "the deceitfulness of sin" which constitutes its greatest danger.'—ALISON, *History of Europe*, vol. iii.

London
Grant Richards
1909

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DEDICATED

TO

CHARLES ARTHUR PEARSON

IN ADMIRATION FOR HIS RARE POLITICAL COURAGE

AND IN GRATITUDE FOR HIS SUPPORT AND

APPRECIATION DURING THE

CAMPAIGN AGAINST

SOCIALISM

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INTRODUCTION

I

The Two Forces

A GREAT change has come over British politics since the summer of 1906. The old parties still face one another, under the old names; but new forces are forming and new issues are about to be fought upon. The nineteenth century was an epoch of political advance: the twentieth is already marked out as the era of economic progress for the people.

What direction that progress shall take is the subject of contention between the two forces. One side demands a complete revolution in our modes of production, in order to free the manual workers from wage-slavery. The other's purpose is to defend and extend private property. The issue is definite and vital: the opposing principles are incompatible. There can be neither peace nor truce between the hostile forces. The conflict must continue until one destroys the other.

This fact, clear as it may seem now, was not so clear in the summer of 1906. True, the earthquake of January had shaken the old convictions, and prepared

the public mind for great changes; but it was not well understood that Socialism meant Social Revolution, and Socialists meant Socialism. The strange desire of municipal and Labour Socialists to have our groceries managed by politicians, and our politics by grocers, was not thought a portent. There were Conservatives who coquetted with Socialism under the name of Labour, and Liberals who succoured Socialism in the cause of Progress.

Whence came the Anti-Socialist movement which changed all this—which stirred the national spirit, dismayed the intriguers, routed the municipal Socialists, and threw the Radical party, till then victorious, into a panic from which it has not recovered? It is a matter of minor consequence, in general, where and when any national movement begins, since, simply because it is national, it must burst out somewhere. But there are critical moments in the lives of nations when an impulse rightly given by a group of only three or four men may be decisive in shaping an era, as the appeals of one or two members of early Councils affected the whole subsequent history of the Christian Church. Looking back on the event after an interval of nearly three years, it seems to me that such an impulse was given to the nation in the summer of 1906.

There is a secret history of most political movements —most often a history of rival ambitions, wavering convictions, and betrayed friendships. Happily, there is yet little of that kind in this case. Most of those concerned have reason to felicitate themselves on

having passed through a very absorbing and stirring episode without reproach. But politics, after all, is a form of war, and Napoleon has reminded us that there is a moment in every great battle when the bravest men wish themselves well out of it. It appears to me that, in all political movements, there is a moment of crisis when the men who initiate are thrown entirely on their own resources: when events go wrong, opponents are triumphant, and even intimate friends fall away. It is so; and it should be so. The more reason, therefore, have those who kept the flag flying at the crucial moment in the Anti-Socialist campaign to be content with the consequences.

II

On the Verge of Revolution

But even yet, two things remain to be done. Our opponents, suiting their tactics to their needs, have laboured hard, and with some success, to convince the public that a movement born in sedition, nurtured in political jesuitry, and aiming at wholesale dispossession, can become pacific at will, honest in success and trustworthy in proportion as it becomes powerful. It behoves us to show, and to prove beyond refutation with all the weight and evidence of history, that that movement which we broadly term Socialism is a revolutionary and insurrectionary movement—insurrectionary throughout the length and breadth of the area it infects, revolutionary throughout the

whole of its history from its genesis to the present day.

To demonstrate this is one of the main objects of the present volume. I have endeavoured to show Socialism—as the modern form of the proletarian movement of Europe—in its true historical relation to the past, and to deduce therefrom its necessary development in the future. I am aware that my conclusions will appear too terrible to be true to those determined optimists who are taken by surprise in every successive generation by human nature. Another '48—another outbreak of insurrection throughout Europe—must seem incredible to those who believe that the warring animal, man, has outgrown his primal instincts; just as European revolution seemed incredible to determined optimists in 1847.

But Socialism, I shall hear, is not a revolutionary movement: it is a great human aspiration. Just so: Socialism is an aspiration linked with an appetite. This is the right revolutionary prescription—the dream of justice, the secret hope of loot. Are the Socialists of to-day a whit more humanitarian than Robespierre? Are their aspirations more fervid, more dreamy, more innocent in all seeming than those of Rousseau? Is it so certain, that, given favouring circumstances, Burns could not play the part of Danton, or Snowden that of Robespierre? Could not Quelch assume the rôle of Hébert, or Grayson the mantle of Camille Desmoulins? Would not Blatchford make a second Chaumette, and Ramsay Macdonald a worthy Fouché?

Be this as it may, we cannot set aside the lessons of

history; and these, as it appears to me, definitely indicate a great insurrectionary movement among the peoples of Europe during the next two or three years. In the section 'From Insurrection to Insurrection,' I have stated the reasons which appear to justify the sombre conclusion that we are now on the verge of a social revolution; that the movement will travel from centre to centre in the densely populated areas of Europe; and that it will spread, in some form, from the Continent to England. The situation of Germany is one of peculiar danger. Let Germany engage in a war, be it with England or with any other Power, and the Socialists will straightway spring on her back. Can the German Emperor be unaware of the danger to his Empire and dynasty? Assuredly not; and the very dilemma which confronts him may force him into a war, in which he must risk all to retrieve all.

The menace of Socialism is the menace of European revolution. To suppose that England could, or will, escape the conflagration that threatens the other Powers is irrational. We may reasonably hope to avoid much of the bloody violence in which any great convulsion necessarily plunges the Continent, but some conflict between the forces of order and those of Social Revolution is inevitable. Nor can the collision be long delayed. In every European capital we hear the muffled thunder which always heralds the storm of revolution—the tramping of the feet of the unemployed. It is probable that within a few months of the appearance of these lines in print the first shots will

be fired in one of the greatest of all revolutionary struggles.

III

The Way to Social Salvation

The major menace to England, however, is parliamentary. Our Parliament is the most sensitive of the world's legislative instruments, and the great financial powers vested in the Commons are a source of serious danger in times of Socialist progress. Socialism, after all, is largely a financial question: and since of its very nature it robs capital at once of its present strength and its recuperative power, any success which might give it a dominant position in politics would cause a veritable deadlock of bankruptcy. Such a position would result if Socialists held the balance of power in the Imperial Parliament.

This is a danger from which the House of Lords could not save the country; not only because of the limited powers of the Lords over Commons finance, but because the mischief would be done during the excitement of a general election, before Parliament could meet. Should the next general election in this country result in the return of two large bodies of Unionists and Liberals, with the Socialist-Labour, or Socialist-Labour and Nationalist members holding the balance of power between them, a serious fall in values, a general hoarding, and a great financial crisis must ensue.

There is nothing between us and that situation but the common sense of the British people. It is important to show them that their social salvation is not to be found by way of Socialism, but in some other direction; for, if we are not watchful and energetic, we may see the Radical earthquake of 1906 succeeded by the Socialist wave of 1910. Hence the second of the two main objects of this book is to show, as I have essayed in 'Anti-Socialist Economics' and 'The Alternative Policy,' that there is a great field of sound economic thought and an active policy of social progress open to Anti-Socialists.

Anti-Socialism is not a negative doctrine: it is the negative name of a positive force. It is politically destructive because it enshrines the vengeful spirit of the Counter-Revolution; but it is vital and constructive because it is national. The spirit of Anti-Socialism is, in a word, the spirit of England. It is at once fresh and old. It comes as the expression of the national will, and the symptom of a new order. It is no transitory visitant in an epoch of transition; but an informing spirit which promises to change the face of politics, clear its issues, and recast its conditions.

In the great struggle between the Pro-Socialists and the Anti-Socialists—the advocates of public ownership and the defenders of private property—the Liberal party is doomed to be torn in two. It is impossible for capitalistic Liberals to preserve much longer an allegiance which is undermining their principles. These being gone from the party, the gravitative in-

fluences of British politics will probably suffice to force the Radicals, the Nationalists, and the Socialists into an alliance. The Progressive Party of the near future—it is already named—will be faced by a National Party, under no matter what name.

This National Party is now forming, and the Anti-Socialist organisation is the bridge between the two sections. Hence it will be the task of Anti-Socialists to evolve a policy and a programme acceptable to modern Conservatives and moderate Liberals. It has been my aim to show that such a policy is possible. Proceeding from the principles which the two constitutional sections hold in common—those of private property and State Action—I have outlined a scheme of reform which might commend itself to both: a scheme which frankly recognises the need of a great economic advance, and aims at the liberation of Labour and the redemption of the Proletariat.

But social reconstruction must be preceded by political reformation. Able men of the new school should be brought into politics, and thence into Parliament. The country does not lack ability, but only the common sense to utilise ability. There should be keen competition among party managers to secure candidates of the stamp of Mr. J. L. Garvin, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Mr. Spenser Wilkinson, Mr. G. K. Chesterton, and Mr. H. W. Wilson—to name only five really able men of the day. The reward of intelligence according to its grade, as I have essayed to show, is the great principle underlying all Anti-Socialist economics. It is the very basis of our

system. We claim that Intelligence, not Labour, is the determining factor in all values. We cannot claim, as Anti-Socialists, to stand for the principle of Intelligence in theory, while discarding it in fact.

The Anti-Socialist campaign having passed, in its way, into history, the writer wishes to express his acknowledgments to Mr. Claude Lowther, Chairman of the Anti-Socialist Union, for much encouragement and appreciation during the preparation of this book; and to acquit himself of his obligations, in so far as that is possible here, to Mr. Ralph D. Blumenfeld, the Villemessant of the *Daily Express*, who has given the Anti-Socialist campaign such assistance and support as only a journalist of his remarkable fertility and resource could bestow. A debt of gratitude is owed to Mr. Malcolm Fraser, who was among the first to perceive the far-reaching possibilities of the Anti-Socialist movement; to Mr. H. A. Gwynne, editor of the *Standard*, through whose agency the triple newspaper campaign was carried into effect in the last week before the London County Council election of 1907; and to Mr. W. A. Woodward, editor of the *Evening Standard*, whose generous appreciation will not soon be forgotten. A special word of thanks is due to my friend, Mr. W. H. Warman, for reading the proofs of this book.

The victory for which we all fought has been partly won. Our first success came when the Press, the politicians, and the public rallied to the cause. The next, when the London Borough Councils were wrenched from the Progressive Socialists. The third, when the

London County Council was captured. The fourth and greatest fight is before us. It only remains to invite our once dubious friends and our still half-hearted allies to dismiss their doubts, abandon their intrigues, and stand out boldly on the side of the majority.

IV

The Warning

I issue this book, written by night during a year of strenuous work, with only modified hope that its warning will be heeded. Many times I have paused to look over London asleep, and wonder how soon the conflagration would break out; as if I could gather from the murmur that never dies the first confused sounds of the coming storm. I expect to hear that my diagnosis is wrong: I have heard that before, and have seen my critics disconcerted by events. I expect to hear that I am an alarmist. All the easy-going people who cannot read the signs of the times—signs that were never more prophetic of times that have never been surpassed—and all the routine-minded people who are immersed in the minor issues of politics, will see the sun rise and the trains run as usual, and will refuse to believe that the peril which menaces the social system is either so near or so great. So be it. I appeal for the confirmation of my conclusions, not so much to men, as to events.

Let me add that, although this book is written from

a specific point of view, it applies to the whole of the civilised world. The subject being so vast, it has seemed to me the only scientific proceeding to study the problem specially as it affects Europe. Had it been my design to take a general survey of all Socialism, it would have been necessary to pay close attention to the proletarian movement in the United States and the States of the Empire. But I hope my point of view will not be misunderstood. To have included America and the oversea Empire within the scope of the book would have been to expand its bulk without affecting its conclusions. The menace of Socialism—whether it takes the form of insurrectionary violence, or the gradual corruption of society through the undermining of its base in private property—is virtually the same for the United States, Canada, or Australia, as for England or Germany. But Europe is the principal field of action, because it is the strategic centre of the Class War. In Europe the chief scenes in the great drama of the proletarian movement have been acted; in Europe the decisive conflict will be fought. No civilised country, however, can wholly escape the financial disaster, the disorganisation, and the bloodshed involved in the repulse of the Socialists, who will not submit to ruin without shaking all civilised society to its foundations. To modern society as a whole I address myself in saying: It is for me to warn, for you to prepare. Your social system is more vulnerable, and its enemies are more dangerous than you know. And the hour of trial is at hand.

THREE YEARS OF ANTI-SOCIALISM

I

Transition

There is only one political party in the country with a set purpose of complete social reconstruction. There never was a party in English politics before, which based its scheme of present action on a theory of a future State. The older parties have smaller ambitions. They have been content to look only a few years ahead, and to leave the rest to the interaction of the great social forces of the age. The fact that the Socialist party—a party without a record, a mere concourse of newcomers—appeals to the people on the faith of a vision, and obtains political capital without security, is profoundly significant.

These are times of transition. Everything in politics is changed since the landslide of 1906. Where are the war-cries, the great issues, the passions of 1900? Consider the contrast: then and now. Then we talked of Imperialism, war, and proconsulates. Now our talk is all of Labour Representation, Old Age Pensions, Unemployment remedies, and Socialism. We were in the midst of our enthusiasm over the drama of Empire,

when the curtain was rung down, and we found ourselves out in the street among the toilers, the beggars, and the misery of real life. London in 1905 was like Paris in 1815. To-day, the Empire: to-morrow, all different. All dreams of military glory banished. Peace, reform, social science occupy all thoughts. The capital turns its back upon an epoch.

But the capital did not realise at once how vast and vital was the change. The knowing party men—the profound politicians who see in politics a match of cunning and cabal between persons, not a conflict of principles and forces—summed up with their usual acumen, and saw no particular harm, beyond a crushing party defeat caused by the mendacity of opponents. All might be retrieved by tactics:—a working arrangement between Unionist and Labour members in the Commons might serve admirably to embarrass the Government and bring the working classes into line with the Conservative party.

This was the manœuvre of the time. Who would dare to countenance it now? Not even Mr. Maxse, one would hope. But we need not be too severe in our judgment of the tacticians' little plan. Its fault was not immorality, but obtuseness. The inconvenience that the coalition of Labour and Conservatism would inevitably commit the Conservatives to a Socialistic policy did not occur to the confederates. It is quite possible, and only charitable to suppose, that they were not aware how many Socialists the Labour Party contained.

The frustration of this approach towards coalition

has saved the country from the spectacle of a group of political exotics styling themselves Conservative Socialists, or Socialistic Unionists, or possibly, since those who nourished such hopes were mostly minor satellites revolving round Birmingham, Socialistic Tariff Reformers. The check administered to these efforts showed that political gravity had temporarily shifted from Whitehall to Fleet Street. After the elections of 1906, most of the leading Radical journalists were found in Parliament, and the most active Unionist politicians in the Press.

II

The New Policy

The new policy, as already noted, was inaugurated in the summer of 1906. At that time the party tendency was one of hostility to trade unionists and friendship to Socialists. The new policy reversed the order. The trade unionists, for the first time, were greeted from the Tory ranks with genuine cordiality as friends, and were gratified to see the Trades Disputes Bill defended as a strictly constitutional measure. The Socialists were attacked.

The first action took place over the body of Mr. Richard Bell. A Liberal member of Parliament, a Labour leader, he found himself vigorously championed in a Tory newspaper at a time when the national All Grades movement was tending, as it seemed, towards

a general railway strike, and Liberal papers were timorous in their attitude towards the Railwaymen's union. If he were surprised, he accepted the situation with shrewdness and good humour, fought gallantly for his members, and made war on the Socialist intriguers, led by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who had the baseness to endeavour to drive a genuine Labour representative from the Labour ranks, for no other reason than his opposition to Socialism.

These things took place at a period when the workers of the country were seething with irritation and discontent. It was a bold act on the part of the *Daily Express* to champion the railwaymen, but it was just: and if the country has been fortunate in escaping the economic disaster of a national railway strike that fact must be ascribed, in great measure, to the propaganda and the negotiations carried on by the only agency which would have been recognised as friendly to both parties.

The incident of the railway settlement was representative. Throughout the early and critical stages of the Anti-Socialist movement it was the Press which led, the politicians who followed. As, in the case of the railway dispute, Mr. Lloyd George only ratified an arrangement which the Press had prepared, so for some time the leaders of political opinion in Parliament merely took up the attacks and echoed the criticisms which leaders of opinion in the Press initiated and sustained.

In the Press itself something like a revolution was caused by the Anti-Socialist Campaign, which

reached the height of its first success in the autumn recess of 1906, when the whole country rang with denunciations of Socialism. The old party garments straightway began to slip off. A new division of opinion began to obliterate the former lines of cleavage. Thenceforward the distinction between Liberal and Conservative was merged more and more in a new distribution of forces between the Pro-Socialists and the Anti-Socialists. The retention of the old name signified nothing, since names are generally the last things to go in political transformations.

The process of regenesis was naturally a painful one to certain sections. On the one hand there were, as we have noted, certain Unionists with leanings towards Socialism: on the other there were many Liberals who feared the progress of Socialism, and dreaded still more to be styled Socialists, in the actual state of public opinion. The former held themselves aloof from the Anti-Socialist campaign with sullen, and sometimes hardly disguised, resentment. It is passing strange, but true, that Lord Wolverhampton and Lord Rosebery have shown themselves more earnest champions of Anti-Socialism than Lord Milner and Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

Simultaneously the Radical Press was thrown into a state of painful indecision, punctuated with attacks of extreme perturbation. The brilliant and amusing *Star*, for whom even its enemies entertain a wayward affection, was thrown into a panic whenever the leading Anti-Socialist organs dubbed it Socialist. The *Chronicle*, edited by a Socialist, and harbouring other

Socialists on its staff of contributors, preserved a certain Scottish caution during the Anti-Socialist campaign, and, after one brief, expansive moment of geniality to its 'Socialist friends,' dissimulated its leanings with Fabian subtleness. No spectacle in London journalism could be more edifying, except, perhaps, that of the editor of the *Chronicle* rebuking the editor of the *Municipal Journal* for his advanced municipal Socialism.

The *Daily News* had more courage. This newspaper, the staunch supporter of Free Trade in all earthly products except cocoa, boldly avowed that the doctrines it was preaching as the semi-official organ of the Liberal party were Socialist doctrines. The different attitudes of the three papers illustrated the anxious position of the Liberal Press. To the honour of Liberalism, be it noted that from this date a number of Liberal organs have steadily taken the Anti-Socialist side in the great controversy.

Meanwhile the campaign in the country was waging hotly, and one statesman after another took up the cry. In the course of some months Mr. Balfour, Mr. Asquith, Lord Rosebery, Lord Wolverhampton (Sir H. H. Fowler), Mr. Haldane, Lord St. Aldwyn, and other leaders, both Unionist and Liberal, successively attacked the Socialists. Mr. Lloyd George, however, protected them, while Mr. Winstón Churchill praised and blamed with eloquent impartiality.

III

The Victory in the Boroughs

The second action was fought at the London Borough Council elections. As an item of political history, it may be noted that here, for the first time, Anti-Socialism came on the scene as an active, extensive, and successful political force. This was in November 1906. It is true that the contest took place in the municipal field: but the issue was national, and the significance of the result the deeper from the fact that the battlefield was the same as that where the Conservatives had been routed ten months before.

The contest was decided in the Press. The Municipal Reform party, as a matter of fact, had no organisation of any importance: and the lavish resources which were expended at the London County Council election four months later were not available until after the Borough Councils victory. It was not to committee rooms, or platforms, or handbills that the electors turned for information and guidance, but to the Press, and the unprecedented triumph which was won by incessant propaganda on a point of high principle was a tribute to the influence of modern newspaper. Called upon to decide for or against municipal Socialism, nearly every London borough returned a strong Anti-Socialist majority.

From this victory dates the rise of the Anti-Socialist movement: from this point, too, the renascence of

Conservative activity and success. It is a fact which could not be gainsaid that the electoral wave which has swept through the constituencies with such remarkable power and volume dates its origin, and has throughout derived its impetus, from the Anti-Socialist reaction. As evidence of the influence exerted by the new movement, it may be noted that, previous to the Anti-Socialist campaign, Tariff Reform propaganda in the country was unsuccessful, and that it was not until the electorate had been aroused to some perception of the menace of Socialism that there was any general disposition to listen to the League speakers who urged Tariff Reform as an alternative specific. In the by-election contests we have seen Tariff Reform being swept home on a wave of Anti-Socialism and Anti-Ministerialism.

IV

The Toulon of Anti-Socialism

The third action was a pitched battle, fought between Municipal Reformers and a Progressive-Socialist alliance, at the London County Council elections of March 1907. The short campaign waged in this case was a curious illustration of the peculiarities and weaknesses of political warfare. The course of the London County Council should have been a simple and forcible duplicate of the Borough contest. It had, however, a history of its own.

Captain Jessel, the astute whip of the Municipal

Reform party, very rightly decided to follow the lead of the Press, and to contest the election on the broad issue of municipal Socialism. The commercial and industrial classes of London—inevitably marked out as the first victims of a Socialist advance—rallied to the support of the party on the strength of the successful Press propaganda, and gave as they had never given before. The hoardings were placarded with posters; the streets were snowed with bills; and yet, strange to say, the Reform cause declined.

On the morrow of the Borough Council elections the Reform party's chances of carrying the March contest by a handsome majority were at least eighty per cent. By the third week previous to the polling day the chances had fallen to fifty per cent. Ten days before the election they were no higher than thirty per cent. What was the explanation of this strange and mortifying change in the prospects of a victorious party?

The decline was due to ineffective generalship and a change of policy. The Municipal Reformers had been called upon to fight as Anti-Socialists. In an evil moment they decided to stand as municipal statesmen. Secure, as they believed, of victory, they appeared on platforms resolved to demonstrate their high qualifications as sound administrators and men of business. They began to talk in detail of main drainage, tramway finance, electricity supply, and all the round of municipal subjects which Londoners find extremely wearisome. The electors yawned, slept, went out, or stayed away: and as the election

approached depressed speakers addressed dwindling audiences.

The Progressive-Socialists became aggressive and confident: the Reformers listless, bored, and dispirited. Ten days before the election the whisper went round the party that the Progressives were going to win by a small majority. The Reformers were going into the contest, in fact, an already beaten party. From depression they fell into panic. A succession of incredibly stupid blunders and crude attacks gave their opponents weapons which they were prompt to use; and the mismanagement culminated in a sham demonstration at Trafalgar Square, which, organised with gross indiscretion, ended in as gross a fiasco. The scum of London were paid to demonstrate, and rows of brakes, sent to the boroughs to bring the free and independent burgesses to Trafalgar Square, returned empty. The whole demonstration was overwhelmed in uproarious laughter.

Such was the situation on the Saturday before the election. It was doubly serious. The loss of London through the mismanagement of the Reform headquarters would have been a minor event. But a victory for municipal Socialism at that moment would have been a fatal reverse, and the approaching visit of the Colonial Prime Ministers to London would have given it additional significance. They, coming to the capital of the Empire, and finding it held in force by Radicals and Socialists at Westminster, Progressives and Socialists at Spring Gardens, would have returned home with an impression that Socialism was coming

fast, the Conservative party moribund, and the Anti-Socialist movement unreal.

A private conference was held, and it was decided to make a last and desperate effort to save London. The Reform campaign was thrown over, and the battle was reconstituted afresh. In short, the whole contest was refought on another line of attack in the last week. The manœuvre of Marengo was reproduced in politics with remarkable success. Ignoring the disaster of the Saturday, three great London daily newspapers, with a circulation in every class of the electorate, unexpectedly opened a concentrated attack, like the fire of a masked battery, on the Monday. Their joint powers were used to rally the fight on its original *point d'appui*. The people of London, confused and exasperated as they had been by an endless controversy over the details of administration, in which the Progressives had always the best of it, were again led to regard the contest as an action in a great economic struggle between the forces of Socialism and Anti-Socialism. Women, who had never polled heavily in previous elections, were adjured to go to the poll and oppose Socialism. Two points, and those only, were hammered and hammered upon during this week of supreme effort—the economic tendency and the economic consequence—Socialism and high rates. The Reformers rallied, their opponents were shaken, the electors went to the poll in larger numbers than ever before, with a large contingent of women, and, for the first time in the history of the Council, the Progressive-Socialists were defeated by a heavy majority.

As it is customary in politics to attribute a crushing defeat to anything but the right cause, so it is uncommon to give credit for victory where credit is due. In this case, however, the acknowledgment has been freely made by Captain Jessel and his Reform colleagues, and it is only just that so rare an instance of political gratitude should be recorded. The London County Council victory was not the only gain in the Anti-Socialist movement of the world. Apart from a brilliant series of triumphs in the English municipalities, there were successes of the same kind in Germany and the United States: and the international movement of resistance to municipal Socialism may be said to have fairly begun. The contest of March 1907 was the Toulon of Anti-Socialism.

V

The Country Awakes

The municipal action cleared the issue in the political field. The country awoke to the reality of the movement towards public ownership, and fell into something like a panic at the knowledge that the Communisation of the means of production had already proceeded so far. The acts and tendencies of the Government were henceforward scrutinised with a care which was new in English politics for signs of Socialistic bias. Simultaneously, under the impulse of social and political forces which ministers were quite

unable to control, the evidences of Socialism began to multiply.

It was not only the pressure of the Socialist-Labour group which drove the Liberal party steadily towards Socialism: it was the morbid inclination of the Radical section. The process of Socialist endosmosis had penetrated the very tissues of the Liberal party, and had rendered it incapable of resisting the Socialist-Labour infection. Ministers, who had returned to power after a long interval, ignorant of the great changes which had metamorphosed their following—ignorant, even, of the very causes of their own success—were late in grasping the fatal truth that Radical-Individualism had been exchanged for Radical-Socialism. They attacked Socialism, they dared Socialist members to preach their platform doctrines in the House, when all the time they were dependent on the support of a Radical-Socialist following, largely committed to the communisation of land, and were themselves, in fact, doing Socialistic work.

Even yet the country has not fully realised the fact that, in every economic reform where ministers have had the choice of going towards or away from State Socialism—of favouring public or private ownership—they have been forced to take the Socialistic course. In their budgeting, their Licensing Bill, their Old Age Pensions scheme, their Small Holders Act, their Town Planning Bill, and their land taxation proposals, their procedure has been irrefutably Socialistic. Capital has been discouraged, and has joined Labour in stagnation and emigration. The democracy has been

pauperised. The result could surprise none but Ministerialists. The healthy instincts of the people have revolted, and the great social forces which are combined in the Anti-Socialist movement have asserted themselves irresistibly at a number of by-elections.

The Anti-Socialist wave first appeared in imperial politics at the Mid-Devon election. That contest followed close after the municipal elections of November 1907, when Socialists were heavily defeated. The success of the Unionist candidate has been ascribed to Tariff Reform by those unacquainted with the special circumstances of the place and contest. The energy and directness of Captain Morrison Bell undoubtedly won him many adherents in the villages; but the key of the position was Newton Abbot, a populous town with a large number of railwaymen on the voting list, a local Socialist league, and a Labour club where Socialists meet and influence Radical working-men. Through a tactical error Newton Abbot was left alone for the greater part of the contest, and, so long as this was so, the situation was hopeless.

In the end, good counsels prevailed, and the candidate adopted a wholly new plan. Newton Abbot was gallantly attacked, Socialism was denounced, and the railwaymen were specially addressed on the situation. In this crisis the Liberal candidate and some of his leading supporters took the indiscreet line of bidding hotly for the Socialist vote. The outcome of the situation, as anticipated when the special plan was adopted, was that the candidate received the votes of the moderate Liberals and trade unionists on the day

of the poll—not, of course, as a Tariff Reformer, but as an Anti-Socialist.

The applied Socialism of the Government has had its necessary consequence in the series of Anti-Socialistic victories at by-elections following the memorable success in Mid-Devon. Meanwhile, however, the Socialist organisers, temporarily balked in other directions, concentrated their efforts on the consolidation of the Labour Party under Socialist leadership. In this they were eminently successful. The Miners' Federation and the Scottish labour party were skilfully led into the fold, and the amalgamated parliamentary party found itself nearly fifty strong, with an army of 1,800,000 supporters at its back.

VI

The Anti-Socialist Union

The Anti-Socialist campaign entered on a new phase in 1908. Hitherto the movement had been powerful, but unorganised. There were several propagandist bodies engaged in independent operations against the Socialists, but there was no recognised centre of Anti-Socialism, and the sum of all the separate efforts—as expressed in political meetings and the circulation of literature—was small in comparison with the abnormal activity of the Socialists.

The plan of a central directive body, which ultimately took the name of the Anti-Socialist Union, was formulated. It was proposed to inaugurate a new

campaign of propaganda on a national scale. The Socialists were to be met, and, if possible, defeated, with their own tactics. Meetings were to be matched with meetings, literature with literature, organisation with organisation. Some tedious months were passed in preparations, and it was decided not to take the field without the requisite resources for a great national movement. Eventually, early in October 1908, under the leadership of Mr. Claude Lowther, the Anti-Socialist Union came into existence, ready and resolved to make history.

From the day of its opening the Union was beset with Socialist spies and bombarded with challenges to debate. Such incidents were not allowed to hinder the process of construction. The Carnot of Northern Unionism, Mr. Lyons, brought the genius of organisation and a store of political experience to the service of the cause. Speakers' classes were formed, and conducted twice or thrice daily. Young men fresh from the universities and bearded trade unionist artisans sat side by side in the class-rooms, eager to master the case which would enable them to meet and beat the Socialists on the public platform. Simultaneously, a publication department and an intelligence department were evolved, and the Anti-Socialist arguments and facts began to pour in a steady stream over the districts where Socialist incendiarism had made most headway. A brilliant band of writers and speakers was gathered together, finely representative of the best literary and oratorical talent of imperial London.

This rallying of talent was one of the most hopeful

signs of the new political era which the Anti-Socialist movement had inaugurated. But even more remarkable than the calibre of the men forming the new school of political thought was the significant juncture of Unionists and Liberals. Mr. Garvin the Fiscal Reformer and Mr. Harold Cox the Free Trader for once found themselves on the same side. Sir Gilbert Parker the Unionist and Sir J. Dickson Poynder the Liberal made common cause against Socialism. Lord Avebury agreed to move a resolution which Mr. W. H. Lever, M.P., the great Liberal manufacturer, consented to second. The Tory *Daily Express* joined hands with the Liberal *North Mail*.

As the speakers passed through the classes of the Union, contingent after contingent was drafted to the platform and the street-corner. Their appearance was signalised by concerted Socialist attacks. Determined attempts were made to break up the Union meetings; representatives of the Union were threatened and struck; and Socialist speakers formed heckling groups to interrupt. But the tactics were unsuccessful. Scotland Yard showed admirable judgment and promptitude in dealing with the situation. Adequate forces of police were ordered out, and the rising violence of the Socialists was kept in check. The Union speakers had an open field, and desired no more.

For the first time in twenty years the Socialists found themselves not the attackers but the attacked. Their questions were answered, their interruptions met with ready and confident retorts, and, much to their surprise and mortification, the agitators, who had

boasted of their inability to find competent opponents, found themselves publicly discomfited.

The success of the Union brought many recruits and a notable amalgamation. In January 1909 the Industrial Freedom League, an Anti-Socialist organisation of high standing, was merged in the Anti-Socialist Union—a welcome sign of extension and consolidation. The rest of the history of the Union belongs to the future.

Such is the record of the British Anti-Socialist movement from 1906 to 1909. It is in many ways remarkable. More successful than any other political movement inaugurated within a generation, it has swept the country in a dramatic series of municipal triumphs, and has set up a reaction in national politics which can only show its full force at a general election. It is the only important political movement of modern times which has not come from the North. London has thrown down a challenge to international Socialism, and, having set the issue, calls on the country to decide.

WHAT SOCIALISM IS: DEFINITIONS

I

SOCIALISM is a word of multiple meaning; no term in English politics is used in so many distinct senses. Such words as 'Liberalism' and 'Toryism' can be given three or four distinct applications, according to the bias or outlook of the user; but the term Socialism signifies twenty different things in the mouths of twenty different persons. Precise definitions are invaluable in controversy, but it passes the wit of man to define precisely that which is not finite and has no precision. No definition of Socialism which could be devised would be equally acceptable to the Independent Labour Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Socialist Party of Great Britain, and the advocates of Industrial Union, all of whom describe themselves as Socialists. Any agreement between Socialists and Anti-Socialists as to the full and precise meaning of Socialism is therefore out of the question.

The very comprehensiveness and vagueness of the term is a source of strength to the movement. We find, even yet, that excellent people drift into Socialism, conceiving it as not only a harmless but a

virtuous expression of the general tendency towards social betterment. The clergyman becomes a Christian Socialist after the model of Father Adderley, because he resents the social evil of sweated labour, and wishes to impress on employers the ethical responsibilities of Capital to Labour. The Radical working man joins the local Labour Club, because he conceives, with Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, that 'Liberalism is the Spring of which Socialism is the Summer.' The Liberal politician repeats the dictum of Sir William Harcourt, 'we are all Socialists now'—albeit with the prudent reservation 'in a certain sense' since the Anti-Socialist campaign began—as a general expression of sympathy with the people. We have the curious spectacle of a Cabinet Minister attacking Socialism in one week and appealing for the Socialist vote the next. In these circumstances, if a precise definition is impossible, it is the more desirable to have clear lines of scission: to know what Socialism is, and what it is not; what is, and what is not, Socialism.

II

Socialism first comes on our notice objectively, as a social phenomenon. Whether the Socialist proposals are good or bad, a form of sanity or a form of insanity, it cannot be gainsaid that the fact of Socialism is in itself a symptom of social disease. No political movement comes from nothing. Neither the Socialist nor the Anti-Socialist campaign could have sprung into existence had there been no great social

fact behind it. But to admit the specific disease is not to admit the specific remedy. Socialism as an evidence of social malady is not in dispute. The point at issue is whether Socialism as a policy is a cure, or a form of the disease itself. To decide this crucial question is the object of the great controversy now in progress. It is only in party politics that such disconcerting differences of opinion are possible. There may be disagreements in the realm of science; but at least no one confuses the fever and the febrifuge, or mistakes the patient for the doctor.

The Anti-Socialist case, in brief, is that Socialism is not only a symptom, but a form of disease: an outbreak of social insanity. The chief constituent parts of the social evil, regarded from the standpoint of Labour, are generally admitted by both Socialists and Anti-Socialists to be poverty, degeneration, sweating, waste, and unemployment—five distinct forms of social stagnation afflicting Western civilisation. These evils, be it noted, however, are not peculiar to either Western civilisation or the modern world. They flourished like the green bay tree in Egypt under the Ptolemies, in the ancient Roman Empire, in the Frankish Empire under Charlemagne; they are endemic to-day among the people of China and Hindustan.

What, then, is the explanation of the special political form in which they now find expression? How and why has modern Socialism come into being? Since there is an organised and formidable Socialist movement in the Western world to-day, while there is

none such in the Eastern, and was none such in the ancient world, we must look to the conditions which differentiate the West from the East and the twentieth century from the first. To answer our questions in a historic sense, we must return to the French Revolution. We might go still further back, and trace the ferment of social grievance through the troubled reign of George III. and the American War of Independence to the English Commonwealth; but the French Revolution stands out as the concentration of all the forces of modern social discontent and aspiration. Parliamentary in its origin, national in its conclusion, its underlying spirit was the spirit of Social Revolution. After constitutionalism, idealism, and terrorism had successively tried to direct the upheaval, and had failed, Napoleon diverted rather than satisfied its half-expressed demands, and the Revolution officially ended in the 19th of Brumaire, leaving in the stirred proletariat soul a vague feeling of baffled aspiration and a definite sense of power. Waterloo fought, and the epopeia ended, ideas of social reconstitution shot up on every side. It is clear from a study of the period before and after Waterloo that the three main factors in the growth of Socialism are poverty, political power, and popular mal-education.

Within the next thirty years, when the foundations of popular elementary education were laid, a stream of crude and unsettling social ideas effervesced in France, while the Chartist agitation fed the fires of discontent in England.

Historically, Socialism is the tide into which most

of the currents of this proletarian fermentation have converged. Its force and volume are due to the variety of its origins.[1]

Socialism, being thus a coition of many forces, retains to-day all the diverse characteristics of its various origins. It is at once an economic doctrine and a political movement. It is a social tendency; but it is also a confederacy of parties. It has caught up and converted to its own ends, in the course of its advance, a number of political precepts, demands, watchwords, and palliatives having no necessary or immediate connection with its economic creed; and it has inherited both the aspirations and the vices of the movements to whose political capital it has succeeded. It has a visionary side and a scientific side. It appeals to the dreamer of social Utopias, and to the logician who knows no law but that of materialistic evolution. It bids for support in the name of rigid justice, and it sets up a claim to consideration on the ground of its humanitarian feeling for the poor and unfortunate. While opposing private property, it holds out to the propertyless the greatest bribe ever offered to a class. It preaches international peace by way of social war. In fine, it is the most audacious, incoherent, and dangerous combination of forces and formulas ever brought together in a single movement.

[1] Attention is specially drawn to the fact that the term 'Socialism' is applied to the whole phenomenon—to the social process as well as to the social theory.

III

This being so, to allege that 'the Alpha and Omega of Socialism is the transformation of private competing capitals into a united collective capital,' as Schäffle asserts in his *Quintessenz des Socialismus*, is to understate the case seriously. A political party might pass a generation in advocating the transformation of private capital into collective capital, without touching the imagination or stirring the passions of the people. Socialism involves this great transformation; but it involves much more. It has attained its present strength by dint of offering plausible explanations, and promising pleasant palliatives or easy cures, for all social evils felt by the populace. It has voiced every working-class grievance in succession, and has taken advantage of every ebullition of popular feeling. The mobile passions and prejudices of the people, whose impotent variability has been the theme of moralists for ages, have at last been concentrated and turned in a given direction.

First, then, Socialism is a ferment. Its leaders can no more impose the final restraint of their wills and doctrines on the general movement, than the Constituents, Girondists, or Terrorists could control the forces of the French Revolution, or Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, and Louis Blanc the Revolution of 1848. In moments of crisis they must perforce govern by yielding. They have power to incite, but not to quell. They may form, but not forbid. By historic descent, by its actual composition, by the principles it pro-

fesses, by the aims it acknowledges, by the events it celebrates, by the flag it flies, Socialism is the party of revolution.[1] Whatever dispute may arise as to what Socialism is or is not in other respects, this point is beyond question.

In the next place, Socialism is a formal demand for a great redistribution of wealth. To the people it holds out the prospect of a general jubilee—a restitution by the rich of their accumulated possessions, an active participation by the poor in the seemingly inexhaustible wealth which has hitherto stirred, and somewhat disordered, simple imaginations. To society it is a threat, veiled in economic formulas which seem to justify expropriation while casting the onus of robbery on the present owners. Every popular Socialist speech, divested of its economic phraseology, might be condensed into the words: 'The capitalists have the wealth. You have numbers. Use your numbers to possess yourselves of the wealth.' It is hardly possible to exaggerate the force of the appeal and the attractiveness of the bribe to the awakening imagination of the half-educated proletariat. We must remember that the poor do not understand wealth. It haunts their lives with all the fascinating falsity of the hitherto unattainable, as the glamour of the *Arabian Nights* hypnotises the fancy of children.

[1] The word 'party' is used generically. Technically, there is no central or composite party with duly appointed officers; but there is a Socialist party in the sense that Socialists work together for their common ends and against other parties; meet for discussion and co-operation in congresses; and have a system of cross-membership binding together most of the component groups.

Their view is necessarily biassed, their judgments are dazzled, they know nothing of the laws governing the production of wealth and the fluctuations of values. The Socialist jubilee appears to them as a blessed time when the rich shall be brought down to their own level, when hours of labour will be easy and remuneration plentiful, and when every man, relying on the aid and bounty of all, shall be permanently safe from want without the need of thrift. When we consider the attractiveness of the appeal, the audacity and the apparent cogency of the Socialist arguments—which, until lately, have been left almost unanswered through the fatuity of the older parties—we are more disposed to wonder that Socialism has not swept the populace off their feet in a mass, than to be surprised at the progress it has already made.

Socialism in its next aspect, as an evolutionary and revolutionary theory of society, is of such importance, that some devotees consider it the be-all and end-all of the cause. Briefly, this is the famous Marxian doctrine, which convinced followers suppose to be 'as impregnable as the conclusions of Darwin in biology or of Lyell in geology.'[1] It conceives of society as divided into two classes, the capitalists and the workers, engaged in an incessant class war. The workers are held to create more wealth than they receive, the surplus value being taken from them by the capitalists in the various forms of rent, interest, and profit. Socialism is the expression of the con-

[1] Statement by Mr. J. Fitzgerald, of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

scious volition of the workers to free themselves from the state of wage-slavery—a growing evolutionary movement which is to end in revolution, and the liberation of the proletariat.

There is a fourth aspect of Socialism, which is also of high importance, though not strictly political, scientific, or economic. Socialism stands for a new conception of society and of social relationships. Collectivism is, of course, the base of the new order. Society is to become a vast conscription, in which every man will have his allotted place and number, like a pauper or a convict. The domination of numbers is to be carried to the extreme. Apart from this general conception, there are divergent ideas on the constitution of the new society, which find their most characteristic expression in the conflicting teachings of the Blatchford and Hyndman schools. The one school is sentimental and humanitarian; the other dogmatic, harsh, and demagogic. They have this notable feature in common, that both are in determined opposition to the Christian religion; but they are as far apart as the poles in the reasons for their hostility. The Blatchford school oppose Christianity because they believe that they have a better and truer religion. The Hyndman school oppose, because the spirit of religion is obnoxious to them. On the one side we have humanitarians; on the other, atheists—rivals to Christianity and enemies of Christianity. Such schools, obviously, can only co-operate while in opposition to the powers that be. The success of the Social Revolution would throw them into violent

antagonism, and the old struggle between the idealists and the terrorists would be renewed.

The Blatchfordian conception of the Socialist state is that of a quasi-scientific Utopia, where there will be universal peace and comfort, sewage-men will wear expensive uniforms, and money will not be needed. The Social-Democratic conception is an era of barricades, confiscation, and destructive democratism. The difference between the two is the difference between a dream and a nightmare. It follows, on the dethronement of religion, that there must be a rearrangement of family relationships, and that marriage—of all human institutions the one most dependent on religious sanction—must emerge from the social revolution, if at all, changed in spirit and form. Secular education and the political equality of the sexes are, of course, to be features of the new system of society. National barriers will be wholly or mainly abolished, and the civilised world will become a confederacy of proletarian republics.

Socialism, lastly, is an international brotherhood—a confraternity of organisations forming the most powerful political party in the world. In this fact lies the source of the Socialist strength. Socialists alone, of all political parties in Europe, assume the prerogative of meeting in congress to confer on methods of opposition to national governments. The superior organisation and resources conferred by this binding-up of parties must eventually—in the absence of coinciding efforts to nullify them—give victory in the European field to Socialism, in accordance with

the elementary laws governing warfare. National parties are allowing the Socialists to take them in detail.

To sum up, Socialism is at once a revolutionary ferment, a demand for a vast redistribution of wealth, a doctrine of social evolution, a conception of future society, and an international confederacy of parties. Biologically, it is a manifestation of the tendency of less advanced organisms to multiply and overwhelm the more highly developed. Historically, it is the heir of the inner and more extreme tendencies of the French Revolution. Scientifically, it is a theory of class antagonism, and the abstraction of surplus value, in the form of rent, interest, and profit, from the workers by the capitalists. Economically, it is a movement in favour of collective ownership, and hostile to private enterprise and proprietorship. Politically, it is a form of advanced proletarian republicanism. Socially, it is an effort to destroy nationality, dethrone religion, and establish a new order of human relationships. Practically, it is an international fraternity of great and gathering power. From every point of view it is a menace to society. Dangerous as a political movement, impossible as an institution, costly as a palliative, it is objectionable in the present and threatening as to the future.

IV

To say so much, however, is not to settle the matter. The whole question being a subject of acute con-

troversy, to define Socialism is either to accept it or to condemn it. So numerous and conflicting are the definitions, that M. Hamon has written a book with the sole object of arriving at a correct definition of the allied terms Socialism, Collectivism, Communism, and Anarchism. His method, which is to ascertain, first, the common denominator, and, next, the differences of the four creeds, is scientific so far as it goes, but it forbids a complete definition. It defines each of these forms in relation to the others, but it does not define them in relation to the outer world.

M. Hamon's definitions, within these limitations, are very valuable, and merit close attention. Socialism would be better understood if they were generally known. I give them herewith: first noting, however, that the material wealth of the community is regarded as divided into two distinct parts—the means of production and the objects of consumption.

The term 'means of production' is used to signify the whole of the means of production, distribution, and exchange: to wit, the land, the mines, the waterways, railways, factories, machinery, buildings, businesses, shops, and stores, tools of all kinds, and, in short, all property of a productive character. The term 'objects of consumption' signifies food, drink, clothing, books, pictures, and so forth.

These are M. Hamon's definitions:—

> SOCIALISM.—A system of society in which the means of production are Socialised. (Or, a doctrine aiming at the Socialisation of the means of production.)

COLLECTIVISM. — (A variety of Socialism.) — A system of society in which the means of production, and these alone, are owned collectively. (Or, a doctrine having this system in view.)

COMMUNISM.—(Variety of Socialism.)—A system of society in which the means of production and the objects of consumption, that is to say, all things, are common property. (Or, a doctrine having this system in view.)

ANARCHY.—A state of society without government, and without constituted authority or power. ANARCHISM.—A doctrine having this state in view.

These definitions, valuable as they are, are neither complete nor precise. It seems irrational to describe Communism as a variety of Socialism; seeing that Communism is a complete, and Socialism a partial, process. Historically and scientifically, we must describe Socialism as a variety of Communism. M. Hamon's definition of Collectivism, too, is not clear enough. It differs little from his definition of Socialism. It cannot suffice to say that Socialism stands for the Socialisation, and Collectivism for the Collectivisation, of the means of production. The definition of Anarchism is insufficient, as it is exclusively political, and ignores the economic side of the Anarchist movement.

For M. Hamon's definitions, therefore, I would substitute the following:—

COLLECTIVISM. — Collective ownership of the

means of production. (Or, the process of converting productive property from private to collective ownership.)

COMMUNISM.—The communisation of the whole of the means of production and the objects of consumption.

SOCIALISM.—(Variety of Communism.)—The communisation of the whole of the means of production.

ANARCHISM.—(Or, more strictly, Anarchist-Communism.)—The communisation of the whole of the means of production and the objects of consumption, in a state of society without any government or constituted authority.

These definitions bring to the forefront the one great fact on which the whole controversy between Socialists and Anti-Socialists turns—the fact of the communisation of property. All four systems involve processes of communisation. The Collectivist aims at the communisation of part after part of the means of production. The Socialist, going a step further, aims at the communisation of the whole of the means of production. The Communist, taking yet another step, aims at the communisation of the whole of the means of production and the objects of consumption. Lastly, the Anarchist-Communist, taking the final step, demands the communisation of all property plus the communisation of law and liberty.

The processes are in a perfect scale of ascent. When

the process of Collectivism is complete, Socialism arrives. When Socialism is complete, Communism necessarily follows. When Communism is complete, Anarchist-Communism is inevitable—that perfect state in which every man will be a law to himself, will labour as he chooses for all, will take from the common stock whatever he desires, and will live with the females of his kind as freely as any beast of the field.

Mr. Balfour's definition of Socialism, as tested by the foregoing standards, goes a little too far. Speaking at Birmingham in November 1907, Mr. Balfour said that 'Socialism means, and can mean, nothing else than that the Community or the State is to take all the means of production into its own hands, that private enterprise and private property are to come to an end, and all that private enterprise and private property carry with them. That is Socialism, and nothing else is Socialism.' As an implication, the suggestion that Socialism means the abolition of private property is justified: but Socialism, in itself, does not forbid private property in the objects of consumption. Mr. Balfour's definition is, in effect, a definition of Communism.

To apply these definitions. The Fabian Society is a society of Collectivists. The Social Democratic Party and the Socialist Party of Great Britain are Socialists. Mr. Robert Blatchford and Mr. Keir Hardie are Communists in theory; and Mr. Victor Grayson is an Anarchist in fact.

But these definitions refer chiefly to the economic character of the respective movements. While dis-

tinctive, therefore, they are not complete: for Socialism is an economic and political movement, which comes into contact with the established institutions of society at every point. They explain, however, the relation of the various parties in the movement to one another, and make it clear how and why Collectivists, Socialists, and Communists may quarrel, without in the least delaying the day of the Social Revolution.

THE BIOLOGICAL BASIS

SOCIETY is an aggregation of human beings who have raised themselves to a dominant position among the animals of the earth by the genius of their species—intelligence. Living, like ants or bees, in constant activity, their special fortunes—their racial destinies—are determined by the play of two forces, both strong within them. By their animal or physical force they propagate their kind. By their intelligence or psychological force, they convert their lives from that of the forlorn and shivering savages of ante-Promethean days to the state we term high civilisation, in which the mind of man penetrates and comprehends the universe. By the action of their intelligence, they extract from nature the means of life and culture. Without its constant activity and expansion, propagation would rapidly outrun the means of life, and every severe season would see the plains and hills covered with dying men and children, as animals perish in a state of nature. There is a constant competition between the forces of intelligence and the forces of propagation—propagation always tending to outstrip the production of the means of life, and intelligence, under this influence, always reaching out to increase production and counterbalance propagation.

In obedience to natural laws, intelligence is unevenly distributed throughout society, the difference between the highest and lowest intelligence being almost the difference between a god and a brute. By the laws of association and reproduction, the community tends to group itself into classes, ranging between two extremes—one in which intelligence outbalances propagation, the other in which propagation outbalances intelligence. The human being, however, is an animal of infinitely mixed stock, and the operation of the laws of heredity continually produces high intelligences in the lower ranks, while the laws of degeneration produce a certain number of deciduous intelligences in the higher ranks. Man being a progressive animal, rising intelligences are far more numerous than the degenerating. The health of society as an intelligent organism depends on the free access given to intelligence, whenever and wherever it appears, to rise to its proper level and exercise its functions. When the rise of intelligence to higher levels is forbidden, social stagnation ensues in the superior class, and social irritation in the inferior class. Arrived at a certain pitch, the stagnant class loses the power to reform itself, the inferior class bursts in upon it, and the balance is forcibly redressed. This reaction constitutes a social revolution of the primary type—an uprising of genuine intelligence. The phenomenon was witnessed in the early stages of the French Revolution.

The constant rise of intelligence from the lower to the higher levels, and the constant, though less important, degeneration of intelligence from the higher

levels to the lower, tends to produce a social residue. The condition of this residue, though far superior to that of primitive man, becomes accentuated in its relative inferiority by the great advance of intelligence and wealth in the higher levels. The restraints on free propagation in the lower levels imposed during the middle ages and antiquity by wars and pestilence, are balked in their operation by the would-be merciful hand of civilisation: propagation rapidly increases, and the residue is thrown into a ferment of envious irritation against the civilisation which has unwittingly increased the area of its poverty while trying to save it.

An entirely new factor comes on the scene when civilisation endeavours to improve the lot of the residue by means of education. The same counter-action is again produced, and the first effect of the knowledge bestowed on the lower grades is to open their eyes to the poverty of their own conditions. Self-consciousness is set up—not class-consciousness in the Marxian sense, but a state of irritation and suspicion, based on imperfectly digested knowledge and ill-disciplined intellection. Self-sufficiency accompanies self-consciousness: members of the residue learn to read, write, and speak, and are prompt to measure their intelligence against the members of the higher levels. The pupil flatters himself that he is the equal of the master, and is half-inclined to suspect that the master has made a good thing out of him.

Thus crude education, superimposed on poverty, sets

up a psychologically morbid state, under the influence of which members of the residue are apt to be thrown into convulsions of passion and hostility to the other classes in society. If, when they are in this condition, their minds are played upon by ambitious demagogues who ascribe all their misfortunes to the malignant action of the classes above them, they tend to become imbued with an incurable distrust. A permanent state of suspicion and misunderstanding is engendered between class and class, as between nations on the eve of war, and every action of the prosperous class is either misconstrued or ascribed to sinister motives.

Assuming the continuance of incitement by demagogues, who encourage the residue to make impossible demands, and give these demands a specious appearance of justice and good faith by casting them in plausible forms, the insurrection of the residue becomes inevitable. If the residue is quite unorganised, we have a rising of the Luddite type—an outbreak of blind hostility to machinery. If semi-organised, a rising of the type of the Chartist movement results. If well organised, the insurrection takes the form of a social revolution of the secondary type—an uprising of morbid intelligence. The Commune of 1871 was an insurrection of this type.

Such is the biological stage at which the society of Western Europe has now arrived. All the conditions of a social revolution of the secondary type are present, and it is probable that when the movement of the residue occurs it will be more widespread, and

possibly more serious, than any of the previous upheavals.[1]

[1] It is almost unnecessary to point out that in this statement of the biologico-social conditions of Europe, I have intentionally refrained from dealing with the numerous side-issues which complicate the situation, but in nowise alter its general character. Thus the extent of the residue or poverty-class may be affected by misgovernment or the observance of false economic principles. If, for instance, a race be exposed to the free competition of economically inferior races, an artificial residue is produced. The same effect may arise from extensive emigration. Misfortune and social neglect also contribute to the formation of undue residue. Again, some sincere men of genuine intelligence may take part in the secondary type of social revolution, which, nevertheless, retains in the mass its special characteristic as a rising of morbid intelligence.

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION

I

For Civilisation

The Anti-Socialist movement is a visible proof that Society is at last casting off the culpable lethargy which has hitherto benumbed its perceptions of the meaning and progress of Socialism. Between Socialism and Society no compromise, no arrangement, is possible. Either Society must capitulate to Socialism, or Socialism must be forced to capitulate to Society. The differences between Conservative and Liberal, Republican and Democrat, are insignificant in contrast with those which divide Socialist from Anti-Socialist. The Anglo-Saxon's pride in his country, his racial patriotism, his reverence for religious things, his love of order and recognition of authority, his instinct for family life, his self-respect, his passion for freedom, his contempt for idealistic systems—all the sentiments and characteristics which differentiate him from the peoples of the world are violated at some point by the Socialist system.

The Anti-Socialist, casting his eyes over Europe, sees everywhere the evidences of the proletarian ferment

and the surface signs of the coming upheaval. The three and a quarter million German Socialist voters, the million Austrians, the nine hundred thousand French, the half-million Belgians, the three hundred thousand Italians, form a European army of social revolution whose potentialities cannot be ignored. At present it is a corps of observation, but the first great popular ebullition, the first crumbling of a State constitution, may convert it into an army of action.

Anti-Socialism is to the early twentieth century what Anti-Jacobinism was to the late eighteenth—it is the evocation of the forces of order and nationality under the impulse of a national danger. As Socialism is revolution, Anti-Socialism is counter-revolution. It comes in a vindicatory spirit to accomplish a necessary work of destruction. The typical Englishman is an Anti-Socialist to-day as his predecessor was an Anti-Jacobin in the strenuous times of Pitt. Nothing, therefore, could be further from the point than to imagine Anti-Socialism to be a negative force. Destructive it is: negative it is not—unless the policy of England through the Napoleonic wars was negative; unless Canning was a negative politician; unless the victory of Nelson at Trafalgar and the overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo were purely negative achievements. New as the movement is, the name of Anti-Socialist has already passed into general and significant acceptance. Men like Mr. Carnegie and Mr. W. H. Lever say: 'I am a Liberal and an Anti-Socialist.' The Conservative Englishman, in the terms of Sir William Bull, says: 'I am a strong Tariff

Reformer, but a stronger Anti-Socialist.' Statesmen in two great parties, separated hitherto by the political differences of a lifetime, have found unity in Anti-Socialism. To thoughtful students of political tendencies, nothing since the great Home Rule split has been more noteworthy, and nothing, perhaps, is more hopeful as an augury of political developments yet to come, than the unanimity of leaders like Mr. A. J. Balfour and Lord Rosebery, Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Haldane, Mr. Walter Long and Lord Wolverhampton, Mr. George Wyndham, the Master of Elibank, and Mr. Harold Cox, in giving their support to the Anti-Socialist movement. Warnings, which leading statesmen have issued in England, have been simultaneously uttered by President Roosevelt in the United States and M. Clemenceau in France.

The character and objects of Anti-Socialism are therefore unmistakable. Anti-Socialism is a national movement, charged with the duty of asserting constitutional as against revolutionary principles. It is not a defensive, but an attacking force; it aims not merely to defeat, but to destroy. It is nationalism opposed to internationalism. In contending for private enterprise and private property it is fighting for fundamental human rights. It is an assertion, not of individualism against collectivism, but of orderly freedom against the tyranny of numbers.

The Anti-Socialist movement has thus the greatest of missions—to combat for civilisation against the forces of revolution. It may be that England will be the arena of the great struggle, in whose outcome all

Europe is so deeply concerned; or it may be that the movement initiated here will spread to the Continent and America, and that the contest will be fought out in detail among the peoples of all the great Powers. The dictum of Mr. Keir Hardie that 'the struggle must go on until there shall be but two parties in the State—the Socialist and the Anti-Socialist,'[1] is not untrue. We are forced to recognise that the great political war of the immediate future will be waged round the question of Socialism. The special aim of Anti-Socialism in England is to overthrow Socialism before it has time to consolidate itself in the manner of the German Social-Democratic Party.

II

The Movement of Resistance

I shall have failed completely in all that I have written in this book, if I do not succeed in convincing the reader that the Socialist agitation is the greatest political peril with which the world is faced: that, in essence, it is a great instinctive movement—a psychological wandering of the people—a half-conscious stirring and striving for social betterment, compounded of human aspiration and proletarian envy—a terrible force transcending the bounds of nationality, and threatening to break out at any moment in one of those vast paroxyms of popular passion which mark the stages in the strange and

[1] Speech at Saltcoats, September 16, 1906.

turbulent progress of the human race. The conditions of modern life—among them the free interchange of crude political thought, the prescriptive licence granted to irresponsible agitators, the improvement of communications — have bestowed on this force an organisation and a line of officers. It possesses the two great requisites of a popular insurgence—a definite policy and a chain of supports.

The Western world as a whole is now confronted with the necessity of yielding to the force and accepting the policy, or of resisting the one and refusing the other. From the standpoint of State policy and modern civilisation, it is a matter of small importance whether we yield gradually or at once. Socialism by instalments and Socialism by revolution both involve one thing—the communisation of the means of production and the abolition of private industry.

Either it is a good thing that an end should be made of the system of private property, which has endured with only minor varieties from the days when Isaeus, the master of Demosthenes, pleaded the case of Dicaiogenes, or it is an utterly bad thing. If good, we have no right to bar the advance of Socialism. If bad, we have no right to tolerate that advance for one unnecessary year.

The weakness of statesmen and the short-sightedness of peoples have permitted the Socialist Party to gain so much strength, and the Socialist policy to make such inroads in State and municipal administration, that the task of opposing further encroachment, which might have been accomplished with comparative

ease fifteen years ago, must now cause a social wrench which will be felt in every corner of modern society.

Holding that the progress of Socialism is an unmitigated international evil, and that the communisation of the means of production would involve as great a disaster to Western civilisation in the twentieth century as resulted from the Gothic invasion of the Roman Empire in the fifth, I submit that the moment has arrived for decisive and resolute action. To the policy of incessant aggression must be opposed the policy of determined resistance.

Sooner or later we shall find it necessary to meet international agitation with international repression. If we fail in this respect, we must be prepared for a repetition of the events of 1878-1881, when Socialism, attacked and crushed in one European centre, quietly began to recuperate its strength in another.

For the present, the position of England is all-important. The problem is how to divert the swelling proletarian current of discontent from the direction in which it is now tending, and how best to combat the Socialist and Socialistic organisations which agitate the people and play upon the passion for spoliation. Whatever joint action it may be incumbent on the nations to take in the near future as a means of saving society from the consequences of the class war, we may at least be assured, in the interim, that successful action on the part of England will be an inspiration to other countries, and will serve to strengthen society as a whole against the mines and assaults of the common enemy.

III

An Anti-Socialist International

The situation calls for a display of moral courage. The rights of property in the means of production which are attacked by Socialists are rights founded in the constitutions of all Western States. Under those constitutions, these rights cannot be taken away. The only way in which to abrogate them is, first to abrogate the constitutions. Under modern constitutions the State may take away the property of one man, or of a group of men, in the means of production: but it cannot take away the right of all men to acquire any such property whatever. The claim to this effect which is made by Socialists has no warrant in law, history, or any recognised principle; it is a mere dogmatic assertion, supported by nothing better than a hazy theory of 'social' ownership. A clear sense of property is one of the signs of a healthy and energetic community; whereas a tendency to confuse 'mine' and 'thine' in 'ours' is a symptom of social decadence.

The State has no more right to put an end to all property in land, in, say, twenty-one years' time, than it has to put all landowners to death after a time-limit of twenty-one months. The State has no more right to say that no workman shall work for any employer but itself, than to say that no workman shall marry a wife except one chosen by a government bureau. It cannot be too strongly insisted on that the State has absolutely no right to appropriate the whole of the

means of production, whether with or without compensation; and, therefore, that such appropriation would be simply an act of usurpation under English law. The public advocacy of usurpation is undoubtedly contrary to public policy, and should be stopped.

There are various ways in which the stoppage can be effected. Bismarck, as we shall see later, adopted one method in 1878—one which can neither be wholly approved, nor wholly rejected. The point, however, has not yet been reached in England at which it is necessary for the police to proclaim and prevent Socialist meetings: though it is by no means improbable that this step will be resorted to in the near future. For the present it suffices to organise a vigorous movement of resistance by means of the regular propagandist methods and agencies; but the contingency of employing legal restraints should always be kept in sight.

One energetic step is demanded promptly. The open flaunting of sedition by the Social Democratic Party should be summarily checked. This party, under the leadership of Messrs. Hyndman and Quelch, ostentatiously advertises 'the abolition of the Monarchy' at the head of its list of 'immediate reforms,' demanded in the name of the proletariat. This advertisement is an undoubted and flagrant infringement of the Treason Felony Act of 1848, under which any open or advised speaking or writing with the object of deposing the king is punishable with transportation (now penal servitude).

The law should be put in force. The leaders of the Social Democratic Party should at once be called upon to expunge the seditious demand for the abolition of the monarchy from their published programme, and any repetition of the offence should result in their arrest and trial. Condign punishment should also be visited on the emissaries of the Social Democratic Party who attempt to corrupt the loyalty of the army. At present Socialists are allowed to circulate their incitements to the soldiers against military law under the very eyes of the officers.

It is obvious, however, that Socialism cannot be properly fought without international action. Under the actual conditions, all the advantages are on the side of the Socialists, who, as an international force, are able to take their national opponents in detail. Since the danger of Socialism is the same for all Western countries, I suggest the foundation of an Anti-Socialist International. A congress should be held, preferably in London, of British, American, French, German, Italian, Belgian, and other Anti-Socialists, with the object of establishing an international bureau to co-ordinate the efforts of the various national organisations engaged in opposing Socialism.

Conferences should be regularly held in the various capitals, and information should be circulated between the different countries as to the best means of counteracting the Socialist propaganda. The Anti-Socialist International would not only be useful as a means of organising the resistance to Socialism, but would be

an invaluable aid to civilisation in evolving the true principles of social progress, in securing the bases of economic stability, and in cementing the solidarity of the Western races.

IV

Liberals, Conservatives, and Socialists

Great as the success of the Anti-Socialist movement has been in the past, it is obvious that its influence in the near future must be much greater. There is no issue in politics comparable in importance with the controversy between Socialists and Anti-Socialists. The contest between them is no mere rivalry between factions of 'ins' and 'outs': it is a combat to the death between two different social orders.

The Conservative party of this country is the natural champion of Anti-Socialistic principles. It must be true to those principles, or it will be nothing; for if it cannot stand before the nation as a barrier against advancing Socialism, its usefulness—and not only its usefulness, but its honour—is gone. In the great reconstruction of parties which has already begun, the Anti-Socialist organisation will play an active part. It will be the plain duty of the organisation to oppose the whole process of socialisation, confiscation, and pauperisation, and to attack all who are engaged in that process and all who befriend and shield its agents. To destroy Socialism it is not

enough to assail its avowed upholders: its allies in either political camp must be denounced.

Therefore it will be necessary to offer a strenuous opposition to all members of the Liberal party who uphold Socialistic and confiscatory principles. As the whole of the Radical section of the party is now thoroughly imbued with Socialism, the Anti-Socialist campaign in Great Britain will naturally resolve itself into a movement of energetic opposition to Radical-Socialism at large.

This procedure would assuredly bring down on the Anti-Socialist organisation a charge of hostility to the Liberal party as such, if it were not prepared to pursue the same policy in regard to recreant Conservatives. There can be no doubt that a certain number of Conservative candidates and members are even yet attempting to curry favour with the Socialists in their constituencies, and that a much larger number of Conservative councillors support the policy of Socialism in the municipalities. But it does not follow that, because these men have been unfaithful to their principles, Anti-Socialists will be prepared to imitate them.

Nothing could be more immoral—and nothing could be more futile in a tactical sense—than the attempts of certain Conservative candidates to secure the aid of Socialist votes against constitutional Liberals. All such votes must be paid for in some way, at some time: and the only consequence of the arrangement would be to commit the party to some half-hearted but wholly dangerous schemes, and to destroy the

confidence of the nation in the integrity of the party as a bulwark against Socialism.

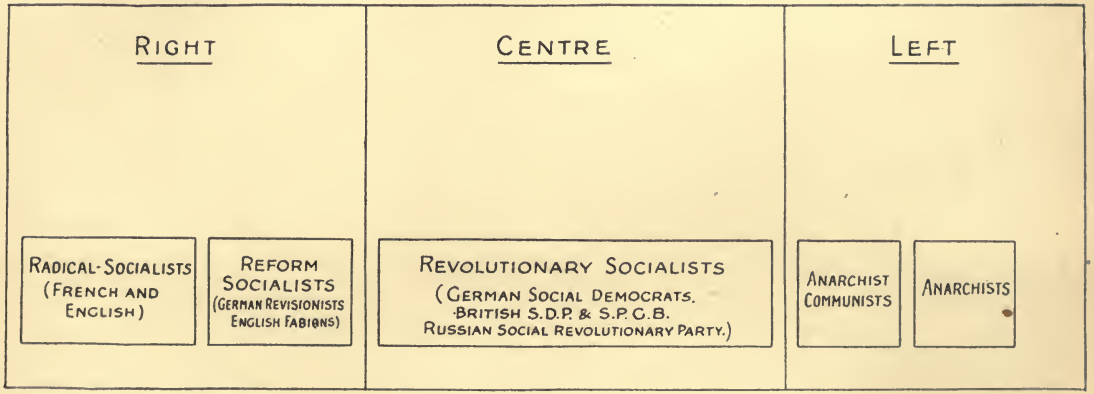
It would seem strange that any Conservatives would go so far as to court the assistance of men who stand for the abolition of the monarchy. Yet such is the case. In the Mid-Devon division—prior to the adoption of the special tactics mentioned elsewhere—some Conservatives had vied with the Radicals of the constituency in courting the Socialist-Labour vote, and there was pronounced hostility to the Anti-Socialist plan of campaign, which was adopted, however, with complete success. Such is the amazing shortsightedness of some local politicians that they cannot see that in snatching at the local Socialist vote they are jeopardising the position, because impugning the good faith, of the whole party. Mid-Devon was neither the first nor the last of the constituencies where the discreditable intrigues of Mr. Maltman Barry with the Socialists have been imitated. Here, then, is a field in which the Anti-Socialist organisation should operate with remorseless energy. It is a matter of less importance to Unionists in general to know whether a candidate is a Tariff Reformer or a Free Trader than to be sure that he is a genuine Anti-Socialist.

The spade-work of the Counter-Revolution has all, or nearly all, to be done in the next two years. It will be the task of British Anti-Socialists, during that period, to drive home the wedge which will split the constitutional Liberals from the Socialistic Radicals. It is for them to develop the great fissure which, extending

through the whole body of English politics from end to end, will definitely separate Pro-Socialists from Anti-Socialists. If they stand true to their principles they cannot fail to dominate the situation. But they must have the courage to oppose all Pro-Socialist Conservatives, and to support Anti-Socialist Liberals: to denounce Municipal Socialism and to undo the work it has already effected: to evolve and to advocate steadfastly a consistent and thorough Alternative Policy.

The immediate effect of their action will not be to inflict a crushing defeat on Socialism, but to drive together in one camp all the Radical, Labour, Progressive, and Socialist partisans who are now separately engaged in working for Socialistic ends. In doing this, the Anti-Socialist organisation will deserve well of the country, though the apparent result of their efforts will probably be to bring into being a Radical-Socialist party of some two hundred members, with an electorate of between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000. But then, at least, the issue will be perfectly clear. In any event, the reconstruction of parties is inevitable. Liberals and Conservatives in England, Democrats and Republicans in the United States, Radical-Socialists and Nationals in France, Social-Democrats and Conservatives in Germany—all the great political parties of the world, in fact—tend to range themselves on Socialistic and Anti-Socialistic lines. It is for the Counter-Revolution to assist and to hasten the process.

THE PROLETARIAN MOVEMENT OF EUROPE AT THE PRESENT DAY



NOTE.—The diagram depicts the Proletarian Movement as an army advancing towards the reader. The Right of the army is therefore the reader's Left. There are three sections—Right, Centre, and Left. The Right consists of the more moderate Socialistic sections, and the Left of the more extreme.

PLATE II.

FROM INSURRECTION TO INSURRECTION

'It is in the Socialist movement that the operation of the ideas promulgated by the French Revolution is most clearly traceable at the present time.'—*Cambridge Modern History*, vol. viii. *Europe and the French Revolution.*

I

The Social Empire of Europe

No study of Socialism can be adequate if not pursued from three distinct points of view: the historical, the political, the economic. Of these, the first, perhaps, is the most important at the present juncture. It is necessary to take a historic survey of Socialism in order to appreciate the nature of its tendencies, the import of its doctrines, and the meaning of its divisions. In this section, therefore, I propose to make such an inspection of the Socialist movement; to trace it from its genesis, through its transitional stages, to its present development; to show what Socialism was yesterday, is to-day, and must be to-morrow. No Socialist of the determinist school could raise any valid objection to this method. If, as Mr. Blatchford and his disciples hold, all men are the creatures of their environment; if all events are determined by preced-

ing events; the Socialist movement must preserve within itself the most powerful impulses and tendencies of its parentage. Socialism, of all social phenomena, must first be tested by the determinist theory so much in favour in its own ranks. Therefore to appreciate what Socialism is in the present we must give little heed to its future, and much to its past. It cannot be judged by the perfections of the Socialist State—if only because the Socialist State will never exist. It can and must be judged by its history as a political movement.

But, in turning the enemy's guns on his own positions, I need hardly say that I do not restrict myself to their use or their range. I prefer to take broader ground than any afforded by Blatchfordian determinism—that strange philosophy compounded of hopeful sentiment and hopeless fatalism—and to treat the subject as a study in historic evolution. Brief the survey must be; but it must also be scientific, or else valueless.

I have neither the space nor the desire, be it observed, to essay a detailed analysis of social discontent. Many able minds have bent all their powers on the study of proletarian misery, and it remains, perhaps, an open question whether society is much the wiser, or the poor much the better for their labours. My purpose here is single and definite. It is to draw, broadly and in outline, an accurate picture of the European proletariat[1] during the past century

[1] The repeated use of the words proletariat, proletarian, in this section may be objected to as too redolent of the special jargon of Socialism. But the terms are too expressive to be rejected. The proletariat=the lowest rank of the democracy; the propertyless

and a quarter; to mark the character and course of the great movement which has stirred it at several periods; to show the unity of the epoch, and the continuity of the movement; and to establish the place of Socialism in both.

Socialism is a European, not a local, phenomenon. Its progress in any one country cannot be rightly studied apart from the general development of the whole movement. To understand British Socialism we must know Continental Socialism. But the extent of international Socialism is now so great, and its varieties are so numerous, that the process of tracing the movement to its source can only be compared with that of following the ramifications of the later Roman Empire back to their origins in the early Roman Republic. To write the history of Socialism fully would be almost equivalent to rewriting the social history of modern Europe. To that end it would be necessary to treat Europe as one Empire —the European population as one people: to discard the political map and redivide the Continent into social areas, as Sieyès mapped France into departments: to retire national conflicts from the foreground of history

labouring-class; the 'have-nots'; the mob. The Romans used the term 'proletarii' in a contemptuous sense, to signify the 'poor white trash' of Rome. The proletarians, Ainsworth notes, were so called: 'quod raro ad militiam conscriberentur, sed procreandae prolis gratia in urbe linquerentur'—though, if not useful for the first purpose, they could not have been of much service for the second. The proletarian is the central figure in the Socialist system, and the key to the Social Revolutionary movement. The term is too valuable a link between modern Europe and ancient Rome to be discarded by the historian.

and concentrate attention on the Hundred-Years War of Classes.

If space is not available here for a work on this heroic scale, I can only hope the spirit and conception will not be wanting. When the events of the next few years, whose shadows are even now lengthening over Europe, shall have provided a sombre climax to the remarkable historic sequence forming the subject of this study, it may fall to my lot to erect a superstructure on the ground-plan here laid down. Meanwhile, I must content myself with this condensed account of the period and the movement; trusting that the conciseness of the exposition will not be found to have prevented me from expressing my views in unmistakable terms.

II

Political Evolution

The historian who surveys Europe as a whole, and studies in a Lucretian spirit the century-long ferment among the oceanic masses whose surface, like that of the boiling mud lakes of New Zealand, always seethes, and from time to time is thrown into a great upheaval, can take only one view of Socialism: that it is a phase in the evolution of the proletarian insurrectionary movement. No other view, in my judgment, makes either Socialism or the history of modern Europe intelligible.

The scientific process of determining political descent is similar to that which zoologists adopt in deciding the species and genus of a given animal or

group: history, indeed, is only the higher zoology. The attributes or distinguishing characteristics of the movement at different stages being accurately noted, the parentage, or historic descent, may be definitively established. Sometimes one prominent attribute may supply the key to a whole problem: as the slanting eye betrays the Mongol, or the protruding heel the negro.

The attributes, in the case of a political movement, are the watchwords, symbols, proposals, principles, administrative forms, palliatives, and tendencies: these form the stigmata. The lines of relationship are termed the affiliations. It is by these stigmata and these affiliations that we establish the identity of Socialism with insurrectionary proletarianism: or, to be more precise, show that Socialism is the form, and insurrection the impulse, of the modern proletarian movement.

This conception of Socialism involves a historic synthesis and a mode of treatment which differ in some important respects from those in general acceptance. Reference to current Socialist works shows that authors—for all their presumptuous claims to scientific method—fail to appreciate the strictly evolutionary character of political movements. When Socialists couple the terms Socialism and Evolution they refer, almost invariably, to the evolution of social conditions: as Vandervelde in *Collectivism and Industrial Evolution* and Macdonald in *Socialism and Society*.

But, not unnaturally, many Socialists are almost unable to take a spectator's view of their own movement. They are unaware that there is an objective evolution of Socialism, as well as a subjective.

They have not realised that Socialism, as a historic movement, has gone through certain well-marked stages, both of thought and of action; and consequently they do not appreciate the inner significance of the fact that Macdonald borrows from Vandervelde and Marx, Vandervelde from Lassalle, Marx from St. Simon, Lassalle from Louis Blanc, and all from the Jacobins of the French Revolution and their progenitors. Least of all do they suspect that the Socialist hosts—leaders and followers together—are the heirs of a great and menacing European movement, to whose form they can indeed impart some variety, but whose essence they cannot change, and whose conflict with society they cannot prevent. Socialists may consciously assist in leading up to the culmination—many of them do so—but, consciously or unconsciously, they are all working in the vortex of a proletarian force so vast that their individual intentions count for no more than one or two moderate voices in the uproar of a mob.

No political party — neither Tory, nor Liberal, nor Socialist — adopts political tenets by chance. Every political movement exists among the people before it takes form as a party organisation. The party comes into being to give the movement an expression, and to enable it to accomplish what it could not achieve as an inchoate force, however powerful. But the party does not control the movement: the movement, in the end, controls the party. The position of the political leader is that of an interpreter. No leader, therefore, and no clique of leaders, can alter the inherent character of a great movement. The

influence of organisation and party discipline may avail for a time to keep in their places a certain number of nominal chiefs who are out of touch with the general feeling, but sooner or later the real driving forces always assert themselves, and the leaders who have misinterpreted them are swept aside or swept along.

Such a movement, taking its rise from some definite political event—itself a vortex of precedent forces—evolves from generation to generation by regular processes. There is no gap in its development. Its tenets in the second and third generation may not be precisely the same as those in the first, but on examination they are found to be the necessary outcome of the original principles in different circumstances.

When a would-be political leader appears on the scene he must march with one of the actual political movements in process of evolution before his eyes. The forces—whether extant or latent—already exist and he can only obtain prominence by serving the cause for which they are consciously or unconsciously striving. His co-operation will be accepted if it is in any way useful, and only so long as it is useful. Even if he is half with the cause and half not, the movement will consent to profit by his action as far as possible, for it is the blind tendency of every political organism to assimilate whatever adds to its own strength. If this would-be leader finds himself in presence of an agrarian movement, it is idle for him to think that he can alter its nature. He can only succeed by giving expression to the desires of the agrarians. If he attempts to impress on the movement an industrial

character, he must obviously fail. If, however, he is an able man with half-agrarian and half-industrial sympathies, or, again, if he preaches a partly agrarian, partly religious propaganda, his aid will be accepted in so far as it serves the purposes of the movement. The agrarians will draw their profit out of his agrarian views, and discard the rest.

In the same way, if a great proletarian movement exists, no leader can alter its proletarian character. If the movement is essentially revolutionary, the leaders will be forced to adopt a revolutionary policy. If it is fundamentally insurrectionary, they will be unable to check—and must, in fact, wittingly or unwittingly further—its insurrectionary impulses.[1]

On these axiomatic truths of political evolution the following study of Socialism rests. It always happens, in the case of a genuine historical or scientific synthesis, that evidences in its support are found scattered freely through the social literature of the previous fifty or sixty years. The authors cited in this section will, I believe, be found sufficient to substantiate the case. I have quoted only the more readily accessible works here, and must defer the elaboration of the synthesis,

[1] Napoleon himself was powerful only so long as he carried a great party with him. As he said: 'J'ai toujours marché avec l'opinion de quatre ou cinq millions d'hommes.' The perennial tendency of political movements to employ leaders only so long as they are useful, and to discard them relentlessly when their special usefulness is past, is shown vividly in the history of the French Revolution. The doomed leader never realises until after his fall the fact that for some time, perhaps from the first, he has been out of touch with the movement on some essential matter.

and the citation of a greater weight of authority, to another occasion.

III

The Proletarian Insurrectionary Movement

The case may now be definitely stated in these terms:—

The social history of the past century and a quarter has been dominated by a great proletarian movement.

This movement is organic and European. It is known by its supporters as the Social Revolution.

Taking its local rise in the French Revolution of 1789-1797, the movement has steadily grown and intensified. It now embraces virtually the whole area of Europe.

Though composed of the recognised constituent parts of most political entities—a Right, a Centre, and a Left—and though manifested in various forms, it is one and the same throughout the whole extent of Europe, and also through the whole period of time under review.

In obedience to natural law it has undergone evolution, and has been subject to local variation; but it has not changed, and cannot change, its essential character.

It has received a great impetus in the course of its advance from the extension of industrialism.

The general character of the movement is that of a rebellion against the established order of society. The uprising manifests itself in three directions, political, economic, and religious.

In reactionary periods the political tendency necessarily comes to the fore. In proportion as political privileges are acquired by the proletariat, the economic tendency becomes more pronounced, until a period is reached when the political aspirations recede into the background and the economic tendencies dominate the movement.

The uprising against religious authority proceeds side by side with the political and economic revolt. In places where religious authority and religious tendencies are strong the movement instinctively avoids a conflict likely to retard the political and economic advance. Thus in particular regions the tendencies in regard to religion are subdued; but the general character of the movement, surveyed as a whole, is unmistakably anti-clerical and secularist.

The proletarian movement is essentially insurrectional, and its tendency is towards the communisation of possessions.

Both its insurrectionary nature and its Communistic tendency—the impulse from which it springs and the direction in which it is moving—may be concealed in some degree by temporary and local adaptations to the pressure of external circumstances.

Thus, at all times and in all countries in the period under review it is a proletarian movement: but at certain periods, and in certain places, this proletarian movement suits itself to its surroundings, somewhat as certain zoological species adapt themselves to the local colour and conformation of their habitat. The reaction of the whole movement on each of its branches or

sections steadily tends, however, to bring each part into line with the main body. When the local pressure of external circumstance is relieved, the innate character of the movement necessarily reasserts itself. We see that, as a matter of fact, a general conformity of principles, doctrines, proposals, palliatives, and symbols obtains.

The Social Revolution never loses its insurgent character: no opportunity for effective revolt is ever missed. When circumstances favour revolutionary procedure, revolution is preached. When circumstances are unfavourable, a pacifist policy is preached. But, whether the professions are pacifist or revolutionary, the inherent revolutionary tendency remains.

As a matter of historical fact, the course of this movement is from insurrection to insurrection. The outbreaks succeed one another at fairly regular periods —at the rate of one to each generation. They take the form of storm-vortices, which make their appearance wherever the political and social conditions are most favourable, and tend, with the growth of the movement, to spread over wider areas, while losing none of their original violence.

The intervals between the revolutionary vortices are utilised as periods of recuperation.

This proletarian movement has grown vastly during the last recuperative period. Being arrayed in formal opposition to the established order of European society, it must continue to proceed from insurrection to insurrection until it is either successful in overthrowing society or is itself crushed.

Socialism is the economic expression of this move-

ment. Socialism is not a complete or final form, but is simply a transitional stage towards proletarian Communism. It would form the connecting link between the present national, authoritative, proprietorial and commercial system of Europe and a state of international, equalitarian, and decentralised Communism.

It remains to add that the Social Revolution is never representative of the whole working-class, though it has now a following in every branch of manual and mechanical labour, and in every great industrial centre. An eruption of social fever, it has steadily infected an increasing number of the workers, and has at last reached the stage at which it threatens to become co-extensive with organised Labour. Masses of the workers still remain exempt, though not immune: but these are not a concentrated force.

IV

Origins

The convulsion in which this proletarian movement had its origin is currently termed the French Revolution. A more accurate name would be the European Revolution. The upheaval was no local symptom, but an international function which impelled its oscillations into every corner of European life, as an agitation in the waters of a fiord sends its wash into every crevice of the shore. To the middle and educated classes the intoxication came in a liberal, anti-feudal, and political form. To the working classes it came as libertarian,

equalitarian, expropriatary, and, in short, Communarian.[1] While all that was bad in the old order of society was sinking under the disease of sensual folly,[2] all Europe was overrun with reconstructionary ideas—optimistic, satirical, destructive, and humane in a general medley. Voltaire had revolutionised the realm of thought from France, Prussia, and Switzerland. Rousseau had sown broadcast his paradoxes of mingled vice and virtue. Schiller's *Die Räuber*—a piece of sentimental expropriatory Communism—was produced in 1781. England had passed through the insurrectionary period of the Gordon riots, and had emerged without a revolution, solely through the constancy of George III.—that misunderstood obstinacy which lost the American States and saved the Empire. Poland and Italy were seething with revolutionary discontent. The western world—to our modern eyesight, sharpened by a telescopic perspective—was trembling through

[1] The word Communarian is used here to signify a movement which, while not definitively and consciously Communist, contained a multitude of Communistic germs and shoots, and was, in fact, as ts subsequent development shows, the first stage on the way to wards Anarchist Communism.

[2] Taine (*Origines de la France Contemporaine: L'Ancien Régime*) quotes the following passage from Madame de Genlis, writing in 1782:—'For five or six months past suppers have been followed by a sort of "blind man's buff," ending in a general riot. [On one occasion] tables and chairs were overturned and twenty carafes of water were emptied on the floor. At half-past one I took my departure, worn out with fatigue and smarting from the blows of handkerchiefs; leaving Madame de Clarence with her voice barely audible, her dress torn to shreds, a deep scratch on her arm and a bruise on her head, but congratulating herself on having given a supper of such surpassing gaiety.' This picture is true to the letter of a section of European society at the present day.

and through with revolutionary impulses: and, for the most part, it had not the faintest idea that it was on the verge of a vast proletarian insurrection. Had George III. been as weak as Louis XVI., or as impotent as the false modern idea of a constitutional king in a limited monarchy requires, the European revolution would probably have broken out in England a short generation before it appeared in France. Had Louis XVI. been as firm and sensible as George III., the first outburst might have been seen in Central Europe. But its coming was inevitable. When Europe reaches the eve of a social storm, a comparatively slight change of pressure may cause the vortex of passion to appear in one spot or another. The eddy may circle round Paris, Berlin, London, or Vienna, but, the charge of electricity having attained the maximum, the bursting of the storm-cloud is certain. Great social movements pass through a period of gestation. When the hour of their delivery is at hand it is no more possible for them to subside than it is for a child eight months gone in the womb to retire upon its growth and vanish from corporate being. The social revolution was born, as it happened, in France; and its birth inaugurated the European Revolutionary Era in which we are now living.

V

The Communal Ideal

Popular names are the landmarks of history. Throughout the whole of the nineteenth century, with

the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the twentieth, we find the terms commune, communism, communist constantly recurring as the chosen watch-words of the revolutionary movement. In all cases they are intended to express the quasi-philosophic idea justifying the use of political and compulsive means to secure for the non-possessors a share in the wealth and privileges which they have failed to acquire by their own private industry. The movement is invariably an uprising of 'have-nots' against 'haves,' and as invariably seeks to find a pretext for the practice of expropriation in the theory of communal right. To-day the theory is embodied in the Socialist contention that 'wealth which is socially produced should be socially owned.'

The expression 'communist,' like any other general term which has been long subjected to the rough uses of politics, has several meanings. In its most abstract sense, it signifies a believer in the absolute community of possessions and the absolute equality of persons. But it is also used, and in my judgment accurately, to designate a partisan of the Commune of 1871 or the Commune of 1791.[1] Any objection to this use is based on the most abstract meaning of the word

[1] Mr. Bodley (*France*, Bk. IV. chap. viii., 'The Socialist Group, p. 639) denies that the name Communist is rightly used in application to the supporters of the Commune. He says: 'English writers, many of whom ought to know better, apply the term Communist, which has a definite meaning both in our language and in French, to the Commune of Paris, with which it has no other connection than an accidental assonance.' I regret to be at complete disagreement with Mr. Bodley on this point. The word Communist is the natural and correct derivative from

'communism,' from which 'communist' is erroneously assumed to be exclusively derived. This contention, however, is conclusively refuted from the Socialist side, by the fact that the Socialist body—which has persistently disclaimed principles of absolute equality of possessions and persons—formerly described itself in unequivocal terms as the Communist Party.[1]

The various attributions of the term Communist proceed naturally from the different meanings connoted by the root-word 'commun.'[2] Just as there

Commune. It is true, as Mr. Bodley says, that the term Communist is derived from the word 'commun'; but so is Commune. The insurrectionists of the later Paris Commune have been variously styled Communards, Communeux, Communalistes. All these forms are unsatisfactory; the first because, like Dreyfusard and patriotard, it is a term of political opprobrium, and therefore out of place in any philosophic or scientific discussion; the others because they have never obtained currency. The insurrectionists of the Commune, as a matter of fact, were popularly known as Communistes in 1871. The *Encyclopœdic Dictionary* has a definition of Communism as 'Support of the Parisian commune in its procedure at two periods of revolution.' The *Century Dictionary* supports this with the definition: 'Communist. 2. An advocate of communalism; a member of a commune; a communalist.'

[1] 'Communisme,' in the absolute sense, is defined in the standard dictionary of Hatzfeld, Darmesteter, and Thomas (Paris: Delagrave) as: 'Doctrine qui a pour principe l'abolition de la propriété individuelle, pour établir une égalité absolue entre les citoyens.' Any such definition of their own form of Communism would have been energetically repudiated by Marx and Engels when writing the Manifesto of the Communist Party—the 'charter of modern Socialism.'

[2] The same variety of meanings, of course, attaches to the English word 'common': as in commonwealth, the common people, a public common, the House of Commons, common law, common manners.

are numerous forms of Socialism in England, so in France, the home of Communism, there have been municipal Communists, Socialist Communists, and absolute Communists, the last including Anarchist Communists. All the varieties have displayed common insurrectionary tendencies, and all have contributed to the formation of the Socialist movement. It was inevitable that the progress of the social revolution towards absolute communism should have evolved by way of municipal Communism. The Commune marked the first step taken by the people in the direction of communal self-consciousness, autonomy, and possession. In mediæval times a Commune was a city liberated from the feudal control, and possessed of the right of self-government by means of an elective magistracy. The Communal ideal took an extraordinarily strong hold of the popular imagination, which it has retained to the present day. There was something small enough to be comfortable, large enough to be inspiring, in the administrative Commune. It was at once convenient and grandiose. It enshrined the patriotism of the city, and had all the attractiveness of a family or colony within four walls. The ideal has been somewhat obscured in the larger national patriotism which has succeeded, but its power endures, and its theory is epitomised in the phrase still in frequent use: 'L'homme libre dans la Commune. La Commune libre dans l'état.' [1]

[1] The theory of the Commune as a political form is thus stated in the *Century Dictionary* (New York, The Century Co.): 'Communalism. The theory of government by Communes or corpora-

The Commune is conceived as a free and self-contained unit. In relation to the other Communes, it is like a ship in the midst of a numerous fleet of large and small vessels without central control. The crew are known to one another; the officers are elective; and those who happen to be on the bridge need not pay heed to the signals of other vessels, unless the crew so desire it. Under this system the State is a mere community of free Communes; the Commune a community of equal persons. Therefore to conceive of the Commune merely as a borough with a charter of self-government would be to mistake its essential character. The Communism of the Paris Commune, if not complete, was of such a nature that nothing but advanced Communism could logically develop from it. The absolute equality of persons in modern society must tend to the absolute equality of possessions; just as the community of possessions must tend to the community of women.

VI

The Commune of 1791

From the outbreak of the French Revolution the working-class or proletarian movement proceeded

tions of towns and districts, adopted by many republicans in France and elsewhere; the doctrine that every Commune, or at least every important city Commune, should be virtually an independent state in itself, and the nation merely a federation of such states.' The doctrine of Communalism, or municipal Communism, as thus formulated was not explicitly held in 1791-94; but it was implicit in the fact of the Commune's existence, its form, and powers.

instinctively to separate itself from the other political forces of the day—the constitutional middle-class movement and the aristocratic party. It had numbers, passion, and determination, but it lacked an organ. It found that organ in the Commune of Paris—the municipal council which took the same place in the administrative system of France that is held by the London County Council in England; the head of the system of local self-government. The position of the Commune in the history of the proletarian movement is therefore crucial, and demands much closer attention than it has yet received. In the struggle which raged round the Paris municipality, we see both the origin and the epitome of the social war which now confronts the whole line of European society. Every phase of that struggle has a new and deeper meaning in the light of the present Socialist advance. The tactics by which the principal Communists rose to office; their dissimulation in doubtful days; their unsparing use of power once obtained; their courting of the populace; their Socialist measures; their blend of humanitarian principles and unscrupulous politics; their system of tyranny, upheld by tyranny's only weapon—terrorism; and their inevitable fall;—all these things are full of significance for those who accept the broad teachings of history as the safest guidance in the conjunctures of the present.

The ideas of the Free Commune being what we have seen, it was natural that the Commune of Paris should become the rallying-centre of the party of ideology

democracy, local autonomy, and disorder. In the general ferment of Communarian ideas which found interpretation through the medium of the Jacobin party, the municipality of Paris played a sinister part. Step by step the Commune was converted into a political stronghold by the revolutionary politicians who could lead the Paris mob, but could not dominate the assembly from within. Again and again, in the Communist-Socialist movement, we see this tactic repeated. The partisans who are unable to acquire a strong position in the national parliament entrench themselves in the municipalities, convert them into nuclei of agitation, and thence, as soon as they have the strength, bring pressure to bear on the central power.

The epoch of the Commune dates from the fall of the Bastille and the assassination of De Flesselles, the Provost of Merchants. On July 14, 1789, the Paris municipality passed into new hands. A provisional committee sat at the Hôtel de Ville, under Bailly, the first mayor, and invited the sixty Districts of Paris to send delegates to form a deliberative council. The first *Assemblée des Représentants de la Commune de Paris* met on July 25, a hundred and eighty strong. It was replaced on September 18 by a much larger body consisting of three hundred delegates, with an executive or *Conseil de Ville* of sixty members—a second parliament, sitting in the heart of the capital. The example of Paris was imitated throughout the country, and thirty thousand communes sprang into existence. With this municipal renascence the

French Revolution entered on a new and republican phase.[1]

The inherently anarchistic tendencies of Communism manifested themselves in two directions: the committees of the Districts straightway began to usurp the power of the municipality, controlling the central body through their delegates, while at the same time the municipality as a whole passed into a state of permanent friction with the Department. The Commune thus became a perfect instrument of disorder and a standing enemy to authority. In May 1790 it was reconstituted by the Assembly, forty-eight Sections being substituted for sixty Districts; but the reform was impotent to check its growing strength and revolutionary bent. A new power, which was destined to co-operate with the Commune in the work of usurpation and insurrection, came on the scene in July 1790, when the first of the Clubs—that of the Jacobins—was opened under the auspices of Pétion and Robespierre, an event which was copied by kindred spirits throughout France in precisely the same manner as the establishment of the Commune itself. The Clubs, in effect, were informal and irresponsible Communes.

Up to this point the fault of the Commune had been that of a headstrong and unbalanced municipal Council, rather than the deliberate perversity of a cabal of conspirators. But France was to pay dearly for the fact that a rival to the central government had been allowed to come into existence in the capital.

[1] F. A. Aulard, *Histoire Politique de la Révolution Française.* Paris, 1901.

The proletarian party intimidated and disgusted the middle-class electors in the Sections by bringing the noisy and menacing mob of Paris first into prominence, and then into dominance. The more respectable citizens, badly led, retired gradually to their homes, whence, though in the majority, they watched in impotent apathy the spectacle of Paris passing under the control of the extremists.

A new era dates from 1791. In November of that year, Pétion, democrat and Girondist, was elected mayor in succession to Bailly, who had sanctioned the firing on the Paris mob in the Champs de Mars four months previously;[1] and Danton was made Procurator-Substitute of the Commune. Half the delegates retired for re-election at this period, and the new members were more revolutionary than their predecessors. From this time the power and violence of the Commune steadily increased, until it culminated in the sanguinary excesses of the second phase of the French Revolution. After the invasion of the Tuileries in June 1792 by the Paris mob with the connivance of the Commune, the Department of

[1] The Red Flag as the emblem of the Social Revolution had its origin in this memorable incident. The Red Flag—the menace of bloodshed—was displayed by Bailly in the Champ de Mars as a warning that the troops would fire if the mob refused to disperse at the bidding of the law. When the Revolution of 1848 broke out, the Socialist-Communists adopted the flag as the sanguinary symbol of insurrection, and endeavoured to foist it on the Provisional Government in place of the tricolour. Hence the significance of Lamartine's fine reply: 'The tricolour has travelled round the world. The Red Flag has only travelled round the Champ de Mars, trailed in the blood of the people.'

Paris made a last attempt to assert its authority. In July 1792 both Pétion and Manuel, the Procurator of the Commune, were suspended. The Sections and the mob protested, the King decided in favour of the Department, but the Assembly annulled the King's decision, and replaced Pétion and Manuel in office. The Commune triumphed, and the Reign of Terror was at hand.[1]

Thenceforward the capital, the Assembly, France itself fell under the dominance of the Commune and the proletariat of Paris.[2] Danton and Robespierre were the representatives of the party at the bar of the Assembly, Marat its instrument in the Press, Pétion its official executive head, Santerre the fomenter of insurrection in the faubourgs. True to the communistic ideal of government, Danton held the Sections to be 'la vraie Commune,' and the Central Council not being revolutionary enough to please the extremists, its place was deliberately usurped by commissioners of the Sections through the establishment of a central bureau of correspondence, presided over by Manuel. A secret

[1] The rise of the Commune to power is well described in Miss Sophia H. MacLehose's monograph, *From the Monarchy to the Republic in France* (Glasgow : MacLehose, 1904).

[2] 'The members of the new Commune, having literally conquered the power, intended to retain it and give the law to the Assembly. They *were* the Revolution. They established themselves *en permanence* at the Hôtel de Ville, received many deputations and petitions, and passed resolution after resolution without examination or discussion, to the number of two hundred a day, while they ate, drank, and slept in the hall. Their first care was to take charge of the police.'—Dareste de la Chavanne, *Histoire de la France.*

Directory of Insurrection was formed, to relieve the Commune of the responsibility for coming events, and the Tuileries were stormed on the 10th of August. The 'terrible Commune,' as it is styled by Bonnechose, forthwith demanded the establishment of an extraordinary tribunal for the trial of those whom it chose to denounce as conspirators; and Danton inaugurated the Reign of Terror with the words: 'To confound the agitators, and check the progress of the enemy, we must terrify the Royalists.' The Commune responded by ordering numbers of arrests, and the three-days' orgy of carnage known as the 'September massacres' followed.[1]

VII

'QUATRE-VINGT-TREIZE'

The Legislative Assembly, after a short career of less than twelve months, was now expiring, and a general election was appointed for the National Convention. The massacres of September 1792, imitated in various parts of the country, terrorised the majority during the elections.[2] The meeting of Paris electors

[1] 'An armed band of assassins, regularly hired by the municipality, made the round of the prisons.'—*General History of Europe*, by Oliver J. Thatcher, Ph.D., and F. Schwill, Ph.D. (London: John Murray.)

[2] 'The first sitting of the National Convention was held on the 21st September, 1792. The Parisian deputies, elected two or three weeks before, under the eyes of the Insurrectionary Commune, belonged almost entirely to the Jacobin party. Their election is a significant example of the methods of Jacobin organisation, and

was convened for September 2nd—the very day when the massacres began—and the Commune, which had charge of the electoral machinery, secured the return of a strong body of Jacobin members for Paris, including Robespierre and Danton, by methods of flagrant intimidation.[1] Similar tactics were pursued in the provinces. Yet, with all their devices, the Jacobins

in that election Robespierre, always a vigilant wire-puller, had taken the most prominent part. No sooner had the electors assembled, than they were transferred, by the directions of the Commune, from their ordinary meeting-place to the Jacobin Club. Some of the electors, who held moderate opinions, were then excluded by a preliminary vote. The system of secret voting was suspended, and all were obliged to vote openly before an audience loudly and watchfully alert. The result was the victory of the extreme politicians. Robespierre, Danton, Marat, and Collot d'Herbois were among the best known deputies elected, and all the heroes of the Insurrectionary Commune were brought triumphantly into the Convention.'—C. E. Mallet, *The French Revolution.* (London: John Murray, 1893.)

[1] In face of these damning facts, Socialist apologists have endeavoured to exculpate the Commune from the guilt of the September massacres. The suggestion that they were due to a spontaneous outburst of popular frenzy at the news of the surrender of Verdun is quite puerile. Marat, the pressman of the Communists, had long been calling for blood. Danton, the procurator-substitute of the Commune, was implicated in the massacres. Of two other members of the Commune, one, Hébert, wholly approved of them, the second, Billaud-Varennes, congratulated the assassins at their work. The murderers themselves loudly demanded money for their exertions. A number of them were, in fact, subsequently taken into the pay of the Commune. How is the coincidence of the massacres with the holding of the elections to be explained? The legal maxim of *Cui Bono* applies here with crushing force. If one fact in revolutionary history is evident beyond cavil, it is that the Insurrectionary Commune deliberately caused the massacres to take place in order to overawe the moderate majority and plant a strong Jacobin group in the National Convention.

were unable to secure a majority in the Convention, in which for a few months longer their opponents, the Girondists, held sway.

During these months the Communists were at pains to strengthen their position in Paris. When Robespierre and Danton quitted the municipality to sit in the Convention, the leadership devolved on Hébert and Chaumette, the infamous leaders of the extremists. The General Council of the Commune was now in control of all the municipal resources of the capital, including the finances, public works, and the police. Insurrectionary committees were set up in the Sections under the guidance of paid partisans. The National Guard, established as a citizen force in 1789, was reconstituted, and its respectable members were largely replaced by paid proletarians. As it was a sedentary force, each of the forty-eight battalions being localised in its own Section, a corps of Artillery and a special contingent of *sans-culottes* were separately organised. These two bodies, recruited from the lower classes of Paris, were the paid advance-guard of the Insurrection. The *sans-culotte* contingent was formed in September 1793 into a Revolutionary Army nearly seven thousand strong.

In the face of all the violent measures of the Commune, the middle-classes of Paris were helpless and stupefied. Occasionally they attempted to assert themselves as citizens, but the Communists had walled them round on every side with a barricade of municipal authority. A subsidised horde of Communist partisans confronted them in the Sections. The armed *sans-*

culottes paraded the streets. The police were in the pay of the Commune. The revolutionary committees of the Sections were ready to turn their terrible attentions against any inconvenient opponent. The citizens' hands were tied, and their purse-strings were cut. Their only province was to pay for the support of the men who plundered them. In this hopeless state—the penalty they underwent for failing to act with determination against the social revolution while there was yet time—they looked on miserably while the Commune first demanded the death of the King and then carried the sentence into execution. Had the citizens continued to act with the energy which they had shown on the Champs de Mars, when they had shot down, after due and legal warning, the insolent insurrectionaries who were stirring up public disorder under the pretext of the most pacific intentions, there would have been no Reign of Terror. But they had hesitated. They could not convince themselves that their opponents were ready to go to extremes. Above all, they failed to appreciate the immense driving force behind any spoliatory movement which is once allowed to defy society. In all ages, the aroused appetite of insurgent proletariat has been more terrible than that of a tiger which has tasted blood. This was the force against which the citizens had to contend; and, once called up, it was bound to run its course until it perished of its own excess.

The hostility between the Jacobins and the Girondists, which had been maturing since the September elections, came to a head in May 1793. The majority

in the Convention, with the object of striking a blow at the Commune, which they threatened to dissolve, appointed a Committee of twelve. The Committee thereupon ordered the arrest of the degenerate and obscene Hébert, the leader of the Anarchist party, which had come rapidly to the front. The extremists at once stirred up the Sections, and a secret Directory of Insurrection was again formed as in August 1792. Henriot was appointed to the command of the National Guard, and the Commune marched against the Convention. After three days of tumult the impotent Convention yielded, and the Girondist leaders were thrown into prison.

The second and longer phase of the Reign of Terror having thus begun, the Jacobins of the Convention and the Jacobins of the Commune vied with one an other in revolutionary measures. The Robespierrists sent a procession of political opponents to the guillotine. The Hébertists decreed the worship of Reason, promoted festivals of blasphemous debauchery, and let it be seen that their ultimate design was to overthrow the National Convention and govern France on the Socialist and anti-clerical principles of which they were the extreme exponents. This inhuman rivalry could not last. A reaction against the Commune began to appear. Robespierre and St. Just, fearing lest this reaction should endanger the whole party, turned against the Hébertists, who were sent to the scaffold. Danton and Desmoulins, already inclining to the reaction, were quickly sent after them. The Revolutionary Army was disbanded, and the Commune,

which had gone through so many metamorphoses, was reconstituted. Robespierre caused a number of his partisans to be appointed to municipal positions, and thereafter controlled the Council of the Commune through them. Fleuriot, the new mayor, was his creature. So too was Payan, who held the post of national agent. Henriot, commanding the National Guard, was already a Robespierrist.

Free, henceforward, as he conceived, to undertake the great work of social reconstruction and regeneration, Robespierre set himself to establish a deistic and revolutionary republican State with a strong central government. He seemed to be the master of the situation—in the Convention, at the Jacobins' Club, in the Commune. In reality he was ruined.[1] The movement which had borne him to power was breaking up, as every communarian movement must when it reaches its climacteric, for it is the law of nature that insanity compasses its own destruction. A quarrel arose between Robespierre and his rivals in the Convention. He hurried to the Communal Council for

[1] Lamartine, one of the best descriptive historians, but one of the worst analysts of events, writes of this period in Robespierre's career with picturesque superficiality (*Les Girondins*, vol. iii.): 'In the Commune he reigned as a sovereign through Fleuriot-Lescot and Payan. The Revolutionary Tribunal was devoted to him. In the Jacobins, Robespierre reigned by himself.' Numerous French and English writers have followed Lamartine in this error. Among them is Mr. C. E. Mallet, whose work, several times quoted in this section, is otherwise one of the most correct of English studies of the Revolution. Mr. Mallet considers that Robespierre's position at this period was 'unquestionably strong. If it had been strong, he would not have fallen.

support, only to find that the Sections—'la vraie Commune,' in Danton's ominous words—were indifferent to him, being in fact more Hébertist than Robespierrist in tendency. Seizing the opportune moment the Thermidorians attacked him and outlawed his associates. He sought refuge in the Hôtel de Ville when proscribed, and there received the successive reports of the defection of the Communal forces. He was captured and executed. Nearly a hundred of his partisans were sent to the guillotine; and the Reign of Terror ended with the Reign of the Commune.

VIII

Social Revolution: Ideal and Real

The terrible contrast between the promise and the performance of the proletarian movement is a standing lesson in the possibilities of social revolution; and one which should be pondered by well-intentioned enthusiasts, inclined to favour this most desperate of remedies for social ills. On the one hand we have appeals for justice and brotherhood, promises of plenty for the toilers, prospects of society rationally reorganised and humanity regenerated. On the other, we have a remorseless, sanguinary, and hypocritic tyranny: the delicate economic machinery of society hopelessly disorganised; the nation split up into suspicious and warring classes; and, strangest of all, the workers brought to the verge of starvation by the revolution

which was meant to bring them abundance. What is the mysterious factor which, interposing itself between the reformer and the reform, transmutes such glowing aspirations into such sordid and cruel realities? The factor is human nature,—the human nature of the proletariat which conditions all social reform, and is never so dangerous and deceptive as when flattered with expectations of an easy, profitable, and pacific social revolution.

Human nature having altered so infinitesimally in the past hundred and twenty years, and the same enticing prospects of social advantage being again held out to the poorer and weaker branch of it, there are special and sombre reasons for bestowing attention on an analysis of the complicated movement whose insurrectionary story has now been broadly outlined. For it cannot be said that prevalent English and American conceptions of the Revolution have yet been clarified to the point of perfect understanding. When even a Frenchman of such authority as M. Clemenceau declares that 'the Revolution is a block,' to which nothing can be added, from which nothing can be taken away, it is pardonable for other Europeans to look back on the convulsion as an epopeia, a superhuman drama of heroism and bloodshed, a phenomenon apart from evolution—not to be analysed, not to be comprehended, but to be viewed as a whole in the unquestioning spirit in which the faithful accept the Christian apostolate.

We may quietly dismiss this view as unworthy of history; and, subduing also the scenes of horror and

blood, which are apt to bias the critical faculty if set too centrally in the foreground, we may proceed to examine the process by which a mere County Council, the instrument of a body of social reformers and revolutionaries, was enabled to dominate one of the richest, most powerful, and most highly civilised nations in the world. In so doing, we shall not only establish the parentage of the present proletarian movement, but we shall see in the mirror of history a picture of such events as must accompany any further triumph of the Social Revolution. We shall find that Revolution is not an indissectible block; but that, like any other political movement, before or since, it is a confluence of political forces, which, proceeding from certain principles, and engaging with one another for supremacy, arrive at certain results quite naturally and directly, making use of the ordinary political forms and pursuing the ordinary political tactics—principles, forms, and tactics which, being again adopted, cannot fail to reproduce results closely re sembling the original.

IX

The Communist Wave

To the success of any revolutionary commotion, two things are indispensable. The movement must proceed on some far-reaching principle, good or bad; and it must have a political centre of operations. It requires, in short, both a basis and a base. What gave

the French Revolution its special character, and stamps it as the true type of the European social war, is the fact that it comprised two distinct movements —each with its own set of doctrines, each furnished with its own base of operations. The first was a national reconstructionary movement, with constitutional aims and principles. It embraced members of all classes, the middle class predominating. The second was a social mutiny—a definitely proletarian movement. The first, all unwittingly, threw open the way to the second. Could its supporters have known what consequences their action entailed on France, the world, and themselves, they would never have played with the fire of revolution; but it is the fate of classes on the brink of a social insurrection to be blind to the most obvious signs and deaf to the clearest warnings. The history of the Revolution from 1789 to 1794 is the record of a constant struggle between these two forces, which, beginning in political rivalry, developed into the class war which has since ranged through European society.

The Communist wave which swept over France in these years, as a necessary implication of the principle of social equality, was no new phenomenon in the history of the world. Speculative Communism—the protest of the idealist against the realism of life—has been a mental pastime or an unprofitable exercise for a host of talented and unpractical thinkers, from Plato to Robert Blatchford. Village Communism has been the economic form among backward and undeveloped peoples from primitive times to the present day.

Experimental Communism has reared its head on innumerable occasions—among the Lacedaemonians, the Essenes, a minority of the early Christians, the Anabaptists, the Socialists, and the Shakers—without ever constituting a coherent, natural, and evolutionary form of civil society. Political insurrectionary Communism on a great scale has appeared twice in history: at Rome, in and after the age of the Gracchi, and in Europe during the epoch now under review.

It should be recognised that there is a natural tendency to Communism among the manual working classes, which far-reaching social discontent—the product of residual poverty and partial education—accentuates. The lack of wealth begets a perennial desire to share out the possessions of the more prosperous. Few people ever acknowledge that their poverty is due to their own fault, as few offenders against the law admit that they are really bad. Conceptions of wealth among the populace are a curious blend of the materialistic and the imaginative; and the process of 'equitable distribution' appears quite practicable to those who hope to gain by it. Use and wont, and the reassuring presence of the policeman, should not be allowed to blot from our minds the simple truism that the 'have-nots' as a mass never—never for a day—cease to desire equal possession with the 'haves.'[1] It is not always the Socialist who has

[1] So deep is the resentment of the propertyless at the prosperity of others, even in England at the present day, that, when at South Hereford election, a candidate for a North-Western borough told me that he dared not appear with a motor-car in the poorer

to be charged with overlooking the fundamental facts of human nature.

Again, a state of Communistic equality as the general form of society seems natural enough to masses of the manual workers, because they themselves, as a class, live under conditions of virtual equality bordering on Communism. There is a strong sentiment among the masses that one man is on a level with another. Their social intercourse is based on the principle of equality, and their Communism is far more pronounced than other classes in society conceive. Their wages tend to a common level. Their system of levies at the sickness or death of companions is Communistic. As industrials they have learnt to work in barrack-like factories, under the semi-regimental conditions which are associated with State Socialism. This observation applies to the proletariat with growing force throughout the whole epoch of modern social discontent, from the middle of the eighteenth century to the present day. Thus, when the masses of the manual workers declare for Socialism or Communism, they are merely seeking to impose on society as a whole an improved form of the conditions under which they themselves live. Marx, with that vicious insight which is his peculiar faculty —the observation of the spectator of life's drama : at times so fatally right, at others so fatally wrong—

quarters of his constituency, lest the sight of such luxury should provoke a demonstration of hostility. Here, in small, is the spontaneous sentiment of the 'class war,' the impulse to insurrection, and the tendency to Communism. On the eve of the French Revolution similar instances were common.

perceived this fact clearly, with the far-reaching possibilities of harm for society which it involves. It would be well if society did the same.

X

Robespierre and the Proletarian Movement

The proletarian movement in the French Revolution had itself two clearly marked features. First, as a struggle to reconstruct society in the future, it was a ferment of rudimentary ideas tending towards Communism. Next, as a struggle for political power in the present, it set up the Commune as its special political form. When these two distinct features are fixed in mind, much light is thrown, not only on the history of the time, but on the evolution of events since. The basis of the movement was the proletarian principle—the sovereignty of the people. Its base was the Paris Commune. Without the base, the movement would have been a dispersed and ineffective agitation. Without the principle, it would have lacked driving power and continuity. Given both, it was a concentrated and progressive force.

The powerful, and to many writers inexplicable, impression made by Robespierre in the Revolution, was due to his unwavering exposition of the proletarian principle.[1] A pupil of Rousseau, who had taught the

[1] The painful nonsense written about Robespierre by Carlyle, and the fluent fatuities of G. H. Lewes, cannot be too severely criticised. The more Carlyle fumes and abuses, and the less

maleficent paradox that human nature was excellent, and civilisation vile, Robespierre gave the teaching a political form by proclaiming the gospel that the people were pure, and the laws and their administrators corrupt. Even when he spoke in the shadow of Mirabeau, Robespierre was noted for the fervour and consistency of his utterances on this head; and he never deviated. A great inchoate proletarian movement was waiting for an interpreter: Robespierre made himself its voice.

He drew together and welded into a system the vague but intense libertarian ideas which floated like a cloud over Europe. The fundamental fallacy of the American Constitution that 'all men are born free and equal,' was a comparatively harmless phrase bandied about society until Robespierre formulated it into a doctrine and a policy. It was he, above all, who gave to the Revolutionary device its dangerous meaning. The middle-class visionaries who had toyed with the doctrine learned, too late, that idealistic equalitarian politics involve realistic equalitarian economics; and the populace, through Robespierre, showed that the device of 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity,' construed from the proletarian standpoint, was nothing more nor less than an epitome of the principles of free or anarchistic Communism.

The proletarian movement, being then in its early stage, did not formulate a precise creed, or a list of

Lewes can make of his personality, the more evident it is that Robespierre, if not great in himself, must have been the mouthpiece of a great movement.

Communist articles. Both its destructive and its constructive energies were unsystematised; but in both directions there was such a vast amount of activity, that there is not a Socialist doctrine of importance at the present day which cannot be traced to its source either in the precepts or in the practice of the French Revolution, between the rise of the Robespierrist faction and the coming of Napoleon. From 1789 to 1794, the two phases of the movement evolved side by side. The general ferment of equalitarian ideas spread in every direction; while the struggle to gain and maintain a political base raged incessantly round the Paris Commune. In short, the Communarian movement and municipal Communism progressed together, much as the principles of State Socialism and municipal Socialism advance in England to-day.

The party which formed the political expression of the movement is commonly, and somewhat unfortunately, known as that of the Jacobins. It was not, of course, a clearly defined organisation after the modern style, but was in a constant state of mutation—now momentarily baffled and hanging its head, now triumphing and destroying its enemies. This party has, in fact, three names. It is the party of the Jacobins, the Mountain, and the Commune at one and the same time —according as it takes its title from the Clubs, the Convention, or the Municipality. The same men, working for the same principles, permeated the three bodies. Robespierre, as the shining light of the Jacobin Club, the chosen orator of the Commune, and the foremost leader in the Convention, was chief among

the many links which bound the triple forces into a terrible whole.[1] The Clubs were used as the centres of revolutionary ideas. To dominate the Convention, and secure control of the resources of France, was necessarily the final object of the party. The Commune was the key to the situation, since it gave the growing movement a foothold, an authoritative standing in Paris, and, most important of all, the sinews of war.

It was through the financial resources of the Commune that the Robespierre-Danton party were able to maintain the Armed Sections in pay, after the middle-class citizens of the National Guard had been replaced by reckless drafts of unemployed workmen, and the rabble of the faubourgs. The same resources provided for the distribution of bread in the poorer quarters. The policy of the Commune was to conciliate the working-class Sections by methods of pauperisation at the expense of the middle-class Sections, whose members were kept overawed by proletarian guns and pikes. The principle of building up an army of subsidised political supporters at the expense of political opponents has been inherited by the later Socialist movement.[2]

[1] 'These victorious demagogues were identical with the Mountain party in the Assembly, and with the patriots who had just possessed themselves by means of violence of the City Council or Commune.'—Thatcher and Schwill, *General History of Europe*, p. 457.

[2] The Sections of Paris corresponded to the Boroughs of London. The tactic of the Council was simple and effective, and its financial policy was the same in principle as that of English Socialists at the present day. The more prosperous Sections—equivalent to

XI

The Inevitable Disruption

In the year 1793, when the Jacobin-Communists rose to supremacy in the Convention by the ruin of the Constitutionals, and the democratic 'Constitution de l'An III.' was introduced,[1] three sections developed in the party. Their differences, implicit in the movement from the first, occasionally widened into breaches when the insurrectionary period gave place to the administrative: for it has been proved repeatedly in modern political history that the most antagonistic sections can act harmoniously together in overthrowing a power opposed to them, but are split into warring factions directly that object is attained. Later, it will be seen that the Social Revolutionary movement has preserved this characteristic in all its stages: that

Kensington, Westminster, and Paddington—were drawn upon for financial resources, with which the poorer quarters—corresponding to Battersea, Poplar, and Bethnal Green—were freely subsidised. The poorer Sections were then held *in terrorem* over the richer, and the vicious circle was complete. The Hébertists 'took care' of the poor quarters of Paris as systematically as the Tammany Democrats of the proletariat of New York, and maintained an army of paid voters, committeemen, and militiamen, together with a pauperised populace. The system was so successful from the standpoint of 'practical politics,' that both the Hébertists and their followers wished to retain the free Commune as a permanent political institution. Robespierre, in allowing the destruction of the Hébertists, and the relaxation of their system, lost himself.

[1] 'More than any other of the revolutionary constitutions, it was conceived in the spirit of Rousseau, and embodied the Jacobin belief.'—*The French Revolution*, by C. E. Mallet (London: John Murray, 1893).

union is only possible to it in opposition, and that anarchy must come, as a matter of course, with the acquisition of power.

Of the three sections formed in 1793, the Right, or Moderate group, led by Danton and Desmoulins, witnessed the Reign of Terror with growing disgust, and desired a return to humaner methods of government. As the return would undoubtedly have brought with it a general reaction against the Revolution, the Moderates were denounced as Royalists. At the opposite wing of the party was the Left, led by Hébert and Chaumette. The extremists composing it—the Anarchists as they were appropriately styled—were violent atheists and anti-clericals. They had shocked large numbers of people with their impious and sensual worship of Reason, and their exhibitions of naked prostitutes on the altars of the ancient religion. Robespierre had good cause for his fear that the Hébertists would bring ruin on the Revolution by evoking an uncontrollable wave of reaction.[1] His position in this crisis has been doubly misunderstood. The man who takes a straight and consistent course in politics is always a mystery to others. Hence, in the drama of plot and counterplot which brought the Hébertists, the Dantonists, and the Robespierrists successively to the guillotine, Robespierre's part and policy have been an enigma to biographers. In England, he is generally held to have fallen as an

[1] 'Men of the stamp of Hébert and Cloots seemed even to the Terrorists to be digging the grave of the Reign of Terror.'—Helmolt, *World's History*, vol. viii.

extremist. In France, it has been too ingeniously suggested that he was overthrown as a reactionary. He was neither one nor the other. He was the leader of the revolutionary Centre, and he pursued his course with perfect directness.[1] He suspected Danton and Desmoulins, not without reason. They were beginning to tire of the revolution, and, in fact, the revolution was beginning to tire of them. Danton was fond of money and pleasure, Desmoulins was inconsequent and untrustworthy. The Royalist party could have bought them both: and they were suspect to others than Robespierre.[2]

I hold, therefore, that Robespierre was perfectly safe and consistent in sending Danton and Desmoulins to the scaffold. These men might be regretted by their friends, but they had lost touch with their party. In attacking the Hébertists, however, he was on altogether different ground. The Hébertists owed their undoubtedly great political power in Paris to the opportunity thrown open to them when Robespierre, Danton, and the other leading deputies for Paris had left the Commune for the Convention in September 1792. When the Robespierrists stepped out, the Hébertists stepped up. They regarded themselves as the legitimate successors to the heritage of the Communal Council, of which Robespierre and Danton had held the fee-

[1] 'Robespierre dug the common grave for Excess and Moderation, as he termed Hébert and Danton. Robespierre, the virtuous and the incorruptible, governed with the "healthy Centre."'—Helmolt, *World's History*, vol. viii.

[2] 'Barère taunted Desmoulins with wishing to rekindle the ashes of the Monarchy.'—Helmolt, *World's History*, vol. viii.

simple with such political profit. They, quite as much as Robespierre himself, were the representatives of the proletarian principle. Their atheism might offend the bourgeois citizens, and even the better-class workmen, of Paris; but what then? This atheism was the veritable creed of the militant populace. The filth of Hébert and the humanitarian pietism of Chaumette—the Rousseau of the gutter, the Blatchford of the Commune—formed a combination which was highly to the taste of the insurrectionary population of Paris, and which became thereby pure and proper on the principle of the sovereignty of the people. In assailing the Hébertists Robespierre was therefore striking at the very root of the principles which had borne him to power. He was denying to the sovereign people the right to be blasphemous and atheistic.

Further, he was attacking the Commune itself—that political form which was, and is, regarded as sacred—the fortress of the Insurrection, the Parliament of the Proletarist. The Commune, which is as indispensable an instrument in the expropriation movement as the barricade in street revolution—which enables the discontented and violent to despoil the prosperous and law-abiding with the show of administrative order—could not exist in the face of the strong central government which the Robespierrists, once within the Convention, were forced to set up. It was far more congenial as an institution to the populace of Paris than the bourgeois national chamber, which, had the proletarian movement continued to hold sway, must have been reduced to the position of a mere *bureau de*

correspondance—a central clearing-house for the loose federation of sovereign Communes of France. The Hébertists, apart from the hold they had secured over the people by the policy of pandering and pauperisation, were strong because they were the true representatives of the extreme decentralisation principle, in opposition to the theory of a powerful and united central government. They were the champions of the local democracy, and when they were gone, the Commune was left only the shadow of its former self.

In breaking with the Anarchist Left and the leading spirits of the Commune Robespierre committed a fatal error. It was none the less fatal because, sooner or later, he must have been forced to take the step. His enemies, unlike his historians, were quick to see his blunder. The taunt of 'Tyrant' flung at him was well calculated to shake the power of a man who posed as the representative of the proletarian principle. The charge of aiming at a dictatorship could not fail to sap the loyalty of the municipal Communists, who saw in that dictatorship their sacred Commune's coming extinction. Had Robespierre retained the loyalty of the Armed Sections, Tallien and the Thermidorists would never have dared to attack him in the Convention. Hébert and his Anarchist following in reality played a very important part in the insurrectionary combination. They controlled the paid gangs of desperate and ruffianly men who started every disturbance and rallied the Armed Sections to 'come out.' The art of insurrection requires the use of such tools. It was these men who had headed the

rising against the Convention on May 31, 1792, and who, when the first *émeute* was not effective, continued to stir up violence on June 1 and 2, until the Convention was overawed into decreeing the arrest of the Girondins. Robespierre realised when too late that the ruin of the Hébertists had broken the prop which sustained him. Hence his despair in the Convention when attacked by the Thermidorians. He felt that he was already a beaten man, and that the 'virtuous Centre' was impotent without the aid of the vicious Left.

The Thermidorians were aware of this. They knew that the disbandment of the paid Revolutionary Army had removed the Commune's most dangerous ally, and created bitter feeling against Robespierre among the proletarians; and they knew that, as to the armed Sectionaries still remaining, the rank and file resented the guillotining of their champions. The proclamation of Deism had also weakened Robespierre's position.[1] A perfervid Atheism has been throughout the one symptom of religious feeling in the proletarian movement. To flout Atheist sentiment in France is almost like offending the Nonconformist conscience in England —a thing which no experienced politician does. Thus when the Thermidorians made overtures to the Armed Sections for support, their success was virtually assured. Their commissioners and Robespierre's agents met in

[1] In the apocryphal but useful *Mémoires de Fouché* the sentiment of the day about Robespierre's festival of the Supreme Being is perfectly expressed in the sneer: 'Tu nous embêtes enfin avec ton Etre Suprême.'

the meeting-places of the National Guard, and the Robespierrists failed.[1] The proletarians sullenly refused to turn out for the man who had suppressed the worship of Reason and destroyed their panders, Hébert, Chaumette, Cloots, and Ronsin.[2] The excision of the Anarchists had castrated the Commune. Thus the great Jacobin-Communist broke up. But the fall of Robespierre taught the Communarians a lesson which they have never forgotten. No Socialist leader of importance at the present day would dare to ostracise the powerful Atheist section. It has won its position in the proletarian movement.

As will appear later, the difference between two parties in the proletarian movement as to the place of the Commune in the political system is no nearer settlement now than it was in 1794. The Robespierrists and Hébertists represented two irreconcilable elements—the State principle and the autonomous

[1] Larousse epitomises this passage in the history of the Jacobin-Communist party in the bald but correct note: 'Toujours en opposition avec les Girondins, la Commune se prêta à une insurrection révolutionnaire qui contribua à leur chute, et le Comité de salut public, jaloux de son autorité, la plaça sous sa dépendance. Robespierre y fit entrer ses partisans. Nombre d'anciens membres disparurent. *Impuissante, la Commune ne put soutenir Robespierre contre la Convention.* Elle fut dissoute par la Constitution de l'an III.'

[2] Danton had predicted that by his fall he should drag down Robespierre to the guillotine. He was mistaken—it was Hébert who did so. A striking, and, indeed, conclusive point, which has been generally overlooked by English writers, is the fact that the man chosen to lead the armed party which passed through the ranks of the Sections, broke into the Hôtel de Ville and arrested Robespierre, was Léonard Bourdon, an indefatigable partisan of Hébert and Cloots.

principle. One party in the proletarian movement demands an all-powerful central State: the other demands an extreme form of decentralisation, with all the power at the extremities—the Communes supreme and the central government a mere shadow. Essential to one another while the insurrection is rising or recuperating, a conflict necessarily breaks out between the two parties when they obtain power. For Robespierre the Commune was an expedient: for the Hébertists it was a principle. The Socialist party to-day is still divided into these irreconcilable elements —partisans of the omnipotent Socialist State, partisans of the sovereign Commune. These, however, are questions for settlement when the Social Revolution triumphs. In relation to the established order, the movement has been from the first, and is now, overwhelmingly anti-centralist.

XII

Class War and Expropriation

A survey of the Revolution shows, as I have already remarked, that practically the whole of the principles and proposals, which have since been reduced to more definite and pretentious formulas under the name of Socialism, were then in vogue. Never was political parentage more evident. To recapitulate: the basic principle of the whole movement, which Robespierre led to triumph and disaster, was the Sovereignty of the People. The Sovereignty of the People, or, in other

words, the Reign of the Proletariat, is the first principle of Socialism. The proletariat being a class, and the ascendency of that class being the object of the movement, a class struggle is inevitable. In the Revolution, the class struggle was a fact; in Socialism, it is the second great principle. In the Revolution, we see the Communist movement taking two forms: (1) a general spread of equalitarian ideas tending towards a complete reconstruction of the State, and (2) an active struggle for the establishment of the Commune, as the political pivot of the movement. After a century and a quarter of evolution we see the counterpart of the same two forms in (1) State Socialism, a plan of complete social reconstruction on Communistic lines; and (2) Municipal Socialism, which utilises the municipal machinery to give the movement strength and political resources in the present.

The class war—the typical doctrine of the Marxian Socialists—was one of the fundamental teachings of Robespierre. This eighteenth-century Socialist ascribed pauperism, in almost the precise terminology of the Social Democrats, to the 'constant conspiracies of the class of proprietors against the class of the non-proprietors.' He frequently harped on the theme that the nation was divided into two opposing classes—the masses of the people on the one hand, and an 'aggregation of rascals, intriguers, aristocrats, and charlatans' on the other.[1] We shall encounter this dangerous and fertile proposition at every turn in the

[1] Alison, *History of Europe*, vol. iii.

Social Revolutionary movement—repeated word for word by the Chartists, restated in terms of proletariat and capitalism by the Socialists. Marx, in adopting the doctrine, made it an integral part of a great social synthesis; but Robespierre must take his place permanently in history as the prime exponent in actual politics of the cardinal Socialist principle of the class war.

The Commune made itself the head and front of the new social policy. Its leaders both preached and practised the class-war principle with energy. They incited the proletariat to hatred of the middle classes and capitalists, and attacked the other forms of 'surplus value'—rent, profit, and interest—with malignant thoroughness and ruinous success. In hostility to surplus value, indeed, the later Socialists have done nothing but translate into formulas the acts and menaces of the Communists of 1793.[1] The difference between the Social Revolution then and now is one of terminology and evolution: for 'peuple' and 'aristocrate,' the two dominant terms of the earlier movement, the newer antithesis, 'prolétariat' and 'capitaliste,' has been substituted; but the issue has not been materially changed, and, as a matter of fact, the word 'aristocrate' was commonly used by the Hébertists to signify 'capitalist.'

[1] 'Manufacturers, agriculturists, and tradesmen were freely denounced as public enemies. Capitalists and usurers were held up to public execration. The Bourse was closed. Financial associations were suppressed. Hébert declared that all tradesmen were "essentially anti-revolutionists, and would sell their country for a few halfpence."'—Mallet, *The French Revolution.*

The National Assembly dealt with proprietorial rights in the unmistakable class-war spirit. Rambaud writes that 'The question of seignorial rights was treated both by the Legislative Assembly and the Convention, not as a litigation between compatriots or fellow-citizens, but as a *casus belli* that had to be decided between two hostile castes — almost two hostile nations.'[1] The peasantry in the provinces carried the Socialist policy into rule-of-thumb practice by sacking the mansions of the rich.[2] As the Reign of Terror progressed the features of the class war became yet more clearly marked. It was a case of the proletariat against all the rest of the nation. 'The middle classes began to be alarmed at the evident descent of the proscription. At first the nobles and ecclesiastics only were included; by degrees the whole landed proprietors were reached; but now the work of destruction appeared to be fast approaching every class above the lowest.'[3] Perhaps the most striking piece of evidence is the following extract from a memorandum written by Robespierre shortly before his fall: 'Our internal dangers come from the bourgeois class. To conquer the bourgeois class we must rally the people. It is necessary that the insurrection should extend step by step. The *sans-culottes* must be paid and kept in the towns. They must be provided with arms, and be

[1] A. Rambaud, *Historians' History*, vol. xii.

[2] 'Insurgent peasants sacked and burned the *chateaux*. In the space of a few days sixty-seven were destroyed in the districts of Maçonnais and Beaujolais.'—G. W. Lewes, *Life of Robespierre* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1899 ed., p. 105).

[3] Alison, *History of Europe*, vol. iii. ch. xv.

enlightened.'[1] These precepts were determinedly acted upon in the last months of the Terror. The Commissaries of the Convention went through the provinces, setting up a line of scission between the two classes, and striking at the property-owners with ruthless severity.[2]

The voracious appetite and levelling instincts of the proletariat were thoroughly aroused. A violent hostility appeared among the people to every order of private property above the lowest rank, and the peasantry showed themselves as apt as the municipal Communists themselves in waging the Socialist war against rent, profit, and interest. 'A general resistance began to rent, titles, taxes, and money-claims of any kind.'[3] Rambaud comments on the extent and reality of the Socialist feeling towards private property. The lawyer Mailhe, a learned feudalist and deputy to the Assembly from the Haute-Garonne, was neither a Jacobin nor a Collectivist, yet this is what he said about seignorial rights: 'If this suppression in reality covered an attack on all proprietary rights, the Assembly

[1] Papiers trouvés chez Robespierre.—Note écrite de la main de Robespierre. Cited in Alison's *History of Europe*, and Lewes's *Life of Robespierre*.

[2] 'The eighty-two Commissaries of the Convention incited the proletariat against the propertied class, armed it, and in many departments threw three or four thousand persons into prison. All lawful authorities were deprived of their power. Robespierre with his *sans-culottes* and *tricoteuses* was master of the situation.'—*The World's History*, edited by Dr. H. F. Helmolt (London: Heinemann, 1907, vol. viii.).

[3] Mallet, *The French Revolution*, p. 139.

which issued the decree would be blessed by ninety-nine hundredths of the nation.'[1]

Supported by this feeling among the people, the Social Revolution called to its aid vast measures of expropriation. The property of the nobles and the clergy, comprising the greater portion of the land of France, was seized by the State in a succession of spoliatory steps, which have been applauded since by Socialists throughout the world. Part of the land was used as security for an immense issue of *assignats*: part was distributed among the peasants in small allotments. In both cases the Government combined the theory of State ownership of the land with the practice of making political war at the expense of opponents—which, as we have already remarked, is the standard strategy of the Socialist movement. But expropriation did not stop short at the possessions of the aristocrats and clergy. The prosperous merchants of Lyons, Bordeaux, and the South were heavily mulcted; everywhere there was a confiscatory movement against the capitalist class. 'The churches fell a prey to plunder and desecration. Hand in hand with all this went the spoliation of all respectable people; at Bourges two million francs were extorted in a single day. The entire booty of the robbers amounted to four hundred million francs.'[1]

[1] A. Rambaud, *Historians' History*, vol. xii.
[2] Dr. H. F. Helmolt, *World's History*, vol. viii.

XIII

State Socialism in the French Revolution

The tendencies of this great proletarian movement, whose head interpreter was Robespierre,[1] found expression in numberless speeches and acts of a communistic character, and in a series of measures of sheer State Socialism. The doctrine of equality preached since the beginning of the Revolution had generally been construed in a political and moral sense: the Jacobin-Communist party took the momentous first steps towards economic equality, and thereby founded the Socialist movement.[2] Robespierre announced, in words which have been echoed in recent years by an English Socialist, now a Cabinet minister, that 'the richest of Frenchmen should not have more than a hundred and twenty pounds a year.'[3] St. Just

[1] 'The "revolution incarnate" was Robespierre, with his horrible good faith, his *naïveté de sang*, and his pure and cruel conscience.'—Charles Nodier, cited in G. H. Lewes's *Life of Robespierre.*

[2] 'In France the first social movement in the modern sense was in connection with the great Revolution. . . . The government was to be transferred to the lower orders by the grant of equal political privileges to all citizens. . . . Not merely political inequality but also economic inequality ought to have disappeared if that goal were to be reached. Private property was, however, held responsible for that; therefore, it also must be destroyed. The most Radical of the Republicans had long looked somewhat suspiciously on the capitalist class. But men had not yet arrived at clear ideas of a new distribution of property.'—Helmolt, *World's History*, vol. vii.

[3] Mallet, *The French Revolution*, p. 229.

declared riches to be infamous. Marat, without realising the full force of his doctrine, had previously propounded the theory that 'equality of rights must lead to equality of enjoyments.'[1] During the ascendency of the Jacobin movement, the economic tendency became more and more pronounced, and the Commune was particularly active in promoting Socialist measures.[2]

The result was the establishment of a form of government resembling, as closely as human nature permits, the Socialist State. The omnipotence of the State over the individual in all the relations of life was the principle of the government. The State claimed the right of nationalising—*i.e.* confiscating—all forms of private property.[3] It seized and doled

[1] Helmolt, *World's History*, vol. vii.

[2] 'The politicians of the Commune, from whom emanated most of the Socialist experiments and most of the extreme measures of the Terror.'—Mallet, *The French Revolution*, p. 229.

[3] 'The chief point for which the Terrorists contended was the absolute supremacy of the State and the entire subordination to it of individual rights. The supremacy of the State, in the Jacobin theory, extended over life and property alike. It was the duty of every member of the State to work for it. It was the right of every member of the State to be supported by it. In pursuance of these ideas, the Republic asserted its title . . . to corporate property of every kind. It claimed the right of appropriating for public purposes, under the name of requisition, and at such prices as it cared to fix, all the products of commerce, agriculture, and manufacture. Further, the State undertook to supervise every one who worked for the community, all manufacturers, cultivators, and dealers. It discussed the feasibility of converting its retail traders into salaried servants. All those whom it required to work had to work. The State undertook to provide them with work and to settle their rate of wages.'—Mallet, *The French*

out supplies of food. It attempted to prevent the appropriation of surplus value by sending capitalists to prison for the crime of making profit to the amount of six or ten per cent. It decreed the abolition of all life insurance societies and private share companies. It interfered with the investment of money, and with speculation in the staples of commerce. It endeavoured to stifle private enterprise in commerce and industry, and to divert all private capital to the coffers of the State.[1] It forced farmers and merchants to render schedules of all the provender they held in store. To check the rise in prices which its own expropriatary measures had caused, it introduced the hateful 'law of the maximum,' which forbade traders to charge more than a fixed schedule of prices for their goods, whatever the loss to themselves. Projects of the most complete and advanced Socialism were canvassed. 'The idea was even entertained of seizing the material and the workmen alike for the service of the State, and converting all France into one vast manufactory in the employment of Government.'[2] And, be it noted again, the reign of all these extravagant ideas, false principles, and tyrannous practices

Revolution, pp. 218-20. We have only to substitute 'Socialists' for 'Terrorists' and 'Jacobins' in this passage and we have a forcible account, correct in every particular, of the objects of English Socialists—Independent Labourists, Social Democrats, and Fabians—at the present day.

[1] 'The Company of the Indies, the last existing mercantile establishment, was abolished; Government resolved to leave no investment for capital but the purchase of the national domains.' —Alison, *History of Europe*, vol. iii.

[2] Alison, vol. iii.

was the direct and natural result to society of tolerating the early stages of a dangerous propaganda. Robespierre announced that 'Society must provide for the support of all its members'—a piece of pure Socialism. In order to cope with the terrible destitution produced by the Revolution, public workshops were thrown open in Paris, and steady employment was offered at standard wages to all who required it: and they were many. Workers flocked to the capital, and the Commune was forced to find employment at the public expense for thirty thousand men. In the State Socialism of 1793 we have the true and undeniable origin of all Socialism which has been advocated since. In inviting Society to accept this scheme, Socialists are therefore, in effect, asking that the State Socialism of the French Revolution shall be given another trial; or, in the alternative, that we shall be so foolish as to believe that a system which could only be introduced by intimidation and supported by terrorism, can now, after a short interval of a century, be tested without danger and brought in without bloodshed.

In another direction foundations were laid on which successive leaders of the Communist-Socialist movement have built. This was in connection with the institution of marriage. The emancipation of women was always a leading item in the Jacobin programme, and the form taken by the emancipation was necessarily hostile to marriage—'the sacrament of adultery' as it was viciously described at the time. For the proletarian movement was in general opposition to the

established order, and marriage, as the keystone of that order, could not fail to be attacked. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that a great appeal to the Cossack appetite of the proletariat could possibly spare the Christian charter of womankind. St. Just declared that 'a man and a woman who love one another are married,' and this idea was carried out in the remarkable Civil Constitution which he introduced to the Convention in Robespierre's name. In this there was Communism of the most fatal kind. Under the new dispensation a man and a woman were to cohabit as a preliminary to marriage, which would not become a binding institution until after the birth of the first child. Boys, at a certain age, were to be taken from their parents and brought up by the State.

XIV

Consequences of Socialism

Such were the acts, measures, and principles of the proletarian movement during the French Revolution. In that period every cardinal Socialist principle and every favourite Socialist palliative was put to the test. The omnipotence of the State over the individual; the nationalisation of land; the collectivisation of capital; the appropriation of the means of production; the State organisation of industry; the substitution of public for private enterprise; the adjustment of taxation to redress the inequalities of social wealth; the recognition of the right, and the enforcement of the duty,

to work; the bestowal of extensive powers on the municipalities; the establishment of workshops for the unemployed; the distribution of free food—all these articles of the Socialist programme were put into force and supported with all the energy of an absolute executive.

And what was the net result of these herculean efforts to ameliorate the lot of the working-classes, prevent the appropriation of surplus value, organise labour, and check social waste? In Alison's words, 'The aspect of France was that of universal destitution. One would have thought that the whole wealth which centuries of industry had accumulated, had suddenly been swallowed up.'

Human nature and intelligence revolted against the system. There was a violent perturbation of values. Private incomes fell to vanishing point, and public expenditure was inflated to an almost incredible degree. The capitalists and the middle class, indeed, were ruined; but the working-class was simultaneously reduced to beggary. Every economic stroke delivered at the luxuries of one rich man fell on the necessities of a score of workers. There was first an immense accumulation, and, later, an immense repudiation of national debt. It was found an economic impossibility to enrich the poor by impoverishing the rich. The system tended to intensify and perpetuate itself—up to the breaking-point—by its own vices. Thus as the municipalities throughout France copied the Paris Commune, they increased the distress and unemployment which they intended to cure, and thereby widened

the breach between the classes. Their extravagance, their megalomania, their neglect of commonplace duties, and their trick of posing as Parliaments, contributed powerfully to the disorganisation of the country, laid the foundations of State Socialism, and eventuated in a state of municipal anarchy, from which only the steel hand of Napoleon evolved order.

In concluding this survey it is well to recapitulate the political articles—as distinct from the economic already enumerated—which the proletarian movement has transmitted to the Socialist party. These, in addition to the class war, and the sovereignty of the proletariat, are the spoliation of the Church; the secularisation of the State; the establishment of a serviceable instrument of insurrection, in the form of a proletarian militia not under military law; and the principle of local autonomy, with the Free Commune as the administrative unit.

The price paid by France—the vicarious sufferer for Europe on that occasion — for having allowed her municipal system to be made the stepping-stone to State Socialism, was heavy indeed. Social war, national bankruptcy, municipal anarchy, and the Reign of Terror—these great consequences are imprinted on the page of history as a permanent warning to European society against the light and careless treatment of a movement which, beginning as a plausible municipal and working-class reform, is terrible only because it has behind it the latent forces of expropriation.

In maintaining that the movement whose early

development I have traced here is the true source of modern Socialism, I do not stand alone. Six authors cited in this section—Gooch, Mallet, Helmolt, Rambaud, Lewes, and Alison—separately corroborate this judgment, each from his own point of view. The position of Robespierre in relation to the movement is not the subject of quite the same consensus of opinion: its prominence is better appreciated than its significance. But if the movement of 1793 were in truth the parent of the movement of 1909; if, as I hold, the movement is one organic whole reappearing in successive stages —pushing on blindly, tenaciously, terribly, despite all past defeats, towards a veritable Armageddon of European classes; then assuredly Robespierre, the master-interpreter of the original phase, must be regarded as the founder of the Socialist movement.[1]

XV

Babœuf

All great things are done in a hurry. The men of the French Revolution found themselves plunged in the midst of a general reconstruction of society before

[1] This conclusion is implied, though not explicitly stated, in Alison. 'Universally the lowest class considered Robespierre as identified with the Revolution. His speeches and measures breathed that ardent wish for the amelioration of the working-classes, by the division of property and extirpation of capital, which afterwards, under the name of Socialism and Communism, and guided by the genius of Lamartine and Louis Blanc, so strongly agitated France and Europe.'—*History of Europe*, vol. iii.

they had fully thought out their theory. The impulse was within them, but the formulas had not been predetermined and co-ordinated. It is instructive to measure the interval which separates the Jacobin order of communal thought from that of Louis Blanc, whose first Socialist work appeared but little more than forty years after Robespierre's death on the scaffold. The one is fervent, but inchoate; the other is systematic. The difference between them is that between an idea conceived and a plan formulated. The intervening period was an epoch of evolutionary thought. The Revolution had filled men's minds with grandiose imaginations, and had held out the promise that nothing in the way of social change was henceforth impossible. Revolutionaries who had seen the worship of Reason, and had assisted at the perhaps more amazing ceremonial of Deism under the pontificate of Robespierre, were not likely to boggle at social schemes however sweeping, or however paradoxical. The Commune, moreover, was not dead, but sleeping. The intensity of the feeling centred in it was such that, passed on from father to son for three generations, it reappeared in 1871 with all its ancient ferocity and false idealism.

Babœuf was the connecting link between the old order and the new. François Noel, styled Gracchus, Babœuf, was a strong partisan of the Jacobin-Communist party at Paris. In 1793-4 he earned an encomium from Marat and started a newspaper, the *Tribune of the People*, which advocated the advanced views of the extreme Left of the Robespierrist move-

ment. After the triumph of the Thermidorians, the Jacobin remnant reassembled in secret, and held meetings in a vault below the Pantheon, where Robespierre, Marat, and St. Just were glorified as the forerunners and martyrs of a new proletarian era. Prominent in the party, of which Babœuf assumed the lead, were Darthé, Vadier, and Buonarroti. Babœuf maintained that Robespierre fell because he had not gone far enough—because, in fact, he had not carried the proletarian principles to their logical conclusion.[1] Repeating Marat's formula with the fullest meaning, he stated that 'There is no real equality without equality of wealth.' He therefore proposed an equalitarian distribution of the land on the principles of Caius Gracchus, supporting that proposal with words which Marx might have used: 'Real aristocracy consists in the possession of riches. Under different names it is always the same aristocracy that oppresses the poor.' In other words, the capitalist is henceforth the enemy. Nothing in social history is more curious and striking than this juxtaposition of ancient Rome and modern Europe—of Gracchan and Marxian Socialism. *Absit omen.*

Thus the Babœufists, the inheritors of the Robespierrist system, made an important contribution to its evolution. They held explicitly what had hitherto been held in implication—that economic equality must be the goal of the movement; and they clarified the

[1] 'Robespierre fell because he did not venture to pronounce the words "Agrarian Law." He effected the spoliation of a few rich, but without benefiting the poor.'—Babœuf, *Tribun du Peuple.*

issue of the class war by concentrating against capitalists as capitalists. In one other respect they made an epochal advance on the Robespierrist programme. The Jacobin-Communists, while asserting the right of the State to nationalise all property, had not declared for the communisation of the land in the full Socialist sense. Their method was one of expropriation, division, and redistribution; and private ownership by the small occupiers was not precluded. St. Just went further, and suggested the abolition of private property,[1] but it was left to Babœuf to evolve the true principle of Socialistic land nationalisation—*i.e.* the resumption of all land by the State, and its retention under State ownership, all occupiers being reduced to the position of State tenants.[2] But even in those anarchical times the public mind was not prepared for so sweeping a step as the abolition of private property in land, and the Babœufists, practising 'economy of truth' as Socialists and Communists have done throughout the movement, kept the nationalising proposals in the background and prepared the way for them by adopting a programme of transitional measures calculated to appeal to the proletariat.[3]

[1] Mallet, *The French Revolution*, p. 220.

[2] This precise principle was contended for by Michael Davitt in connection with Mr. Wyndham's Irish Land Settlement, but the Irish peasant-farmers would have none of it. See *Socialist Review*, August 1908.

[3] This tendency of Socialists to conceal their ultimate aims, and to give out only so much as the public will swallow at a given time and place, should be noted. It is encountered at every turn of the movement, and is practised to-day. On another page it is shown that, in certain circumstances, Socialists consider themselves

One clause provided that the property and houses of all enemies of the people should be handed over to the working-classes. Another, that all pledges held by pawnbrokers should be straightway returned to the people.[1] By such proposals the Communist hook was baited. The following tenets constituted the political 'platform' of the Babœufist party: 1. The duty of all to work. 2. The statutory settlement of working hours. 3. The regulation of production by a supreme board elected by the people. 4. The division of the necessary work among individuals by the State. 5. The right of all citizens to all enjoyments. 6. The distribution of property among all individuals on principles of equality.[2] One of the Terrorist measures proposed was the destruction of the Luxembourg over the heads of the Directory. The ruins were to be left as they fell.[3]

The Babœufists conspired, appointed a secret insurrectional directory, tampered with the soldiers, and were taken up. Babœuf and Darthé were guillotined, and Buonarroti and others were exiled. In later years Buonarotti returned and spread the principles of Communism by a book on his leader's conspiracy. Babœuf has been far too summarily dismissed by historians. His movement was so serious that it threw

entitled to lie about their principles and aims. The habit has become so ingrained that its dishonesty is not even questioned.

[1] Alison, *History of Europe*, vol. iv. The proviso as to pawnbrokers' pledges was carried out by the Commune of 1871.

[2] Helmolt, *World's History*, vol. vii.

[3] This proposal was copied in the destruction of the Tuileries by the Commune of 1871.

France into a panic of fear at the prospect of a general Communist rising: this panic being one of the causes which led to the dictatorship of Napoleon. Apart from this, Babœuf is of high importance in the evolution of Socialism as the representative of the strict Communistic principle of the State ownership of land and the means of production.[1]

XVI

Socialism in Winter Quarters

The cannon of Waterloo had hardly ceased to echo through Europe when the Communist movement—henceforth divorced from the name Jacobin—entered on its first recuperatory stage. St. Simon, who indoctrinated France while Buonarroti the Babœufist propagandised in Belgium, was the foremost apostle of the new Communism. Europe was then too satiated with the tragedy of Revolution to tolerate any evident tendency to return to the old sanguinary methods, and St. Simon was necessarily the interpreter of pacific Socialism. Such is the faith of the ideologue in his own specific that St. Simon was ingenuous enough to appeal to Louis XVIII. to give his scheme a trial. His system might be described as a blend of Robespierrism and industrialism. We find Robespierre's peculiar

[1] The descent of the Socialist-Communist movement from Robespierre by way of Babœuf and St. Simon to Fourier, Cabet, and Louis Blanc, is clearly shown in 'The Social Movement up to 1848,' *World's History*, Dr. H. F. Helmolt, vol. vii.

sacerdotal fervour, which makes politics almost an ecstasy; his autocracy; his theories of fraternity; his idea of the subjection of the family to the State; and —in the developed system—his tendencies in relation to marriage. The insane proletarianism of the Commune is also present, enshrined in the perverted doctrine that makes the poorest class the very centre of society, and teaches that society must be organised for the benefit of this class.

That which is most modern in St. Simon is his conception of economics as the politics of the future. Yet what is this, on examination, but a logical deduction from the proletarian principle? Once establish the proletariat in the place of social honour, as the Commune did, and it follows that the daily concerns of that class become the concerns of your politics. International treaties; the foreign relations of States; the growth of Empires; battles, conquests, and annexations—all these things recede to the background, and the proletarian's wage, his hours of work, his trade unions, and his housing accommodation, form the subject of the eternal controversy which the modern world mistakes for government. In passing, we may note that St. Simon is all for morality and brotherhood, as Robespierre was all for virtue. Is it uncharitable, as a comment on the personal side of the Socialist movement, to recall the fact that this mystic of noble birth had amassed a small fortune during the Revolution, when so many of the workers starved, by judiciously speculating in the confiscated lands of his own class?

After St. Simon's death in 1825, a Communistic sect was formed by his followers, who were divided into three grades, and lived as a self-contained colony with funds in common. The fissionary tendencies inherent in movements which assume social names for anti-social purposes were early to appear in St. Simonism. Two factions formed within the sect. One, led by Bazard, developed the economic and industrial side of the movement, and cast the St. Simonian proposition in more definite forms. History was conceived as divided into two kinds of epochs: the destructive and the constructive, or negative and organic; and the exploitation of man by man was held to have proceeded in three stages—slavery, serfdom, and wage-labour: a view which was later adopted by Marx and made to form one of the fundaments of his synthesis.

The spirit of antagonism having prevailed in the past, the principle of association was to prevail in the future; rights of inheritance were to be abolished; and the instruments of production were to be socially owned. Here we are on modern Socialistic ground: the expropriation movement is steadily finding its formulas. The St. Simonians recognised the Reign of Terror as the reign of the non-possessing class; and their system, like Robespierre's, was the apotheosis of the proletariat under authoritarian rule.

The second St. Simonian faction, under Enfantin, developed both the sacerdotal and the anti-marital tendencies of Robespierre with logical and disastrous thoroughness; and supplied fresh proof, if any were needed, that the propagandism of hostility to private

ownership evokes a tendency to the community of women. The St. Simonians started with the principle of the absolute equality of the sexes and the emancipation of woman. From this point, under the influence of Enfantin, they proceeded to the reform of the institution of marriage. Two orders of marriage were recognised—the permanent and the temporary. The social unit in their system was neither the individual nor the family, but a man and woman associated at their own choice in a union of either short or long duration. From theory the sect passed to lasciviousness. As Socialists at large advance philosophical plausibilities as pretexts for expropriation, so Enfantin and his followers evolved a theistic doctrine of the rehabilitation of the flesh to justify latitudinarian practice. Such theories, taught in a self-contained community which is cut off from the outer world in thought and responsibility, regulated by hierarchical methods, and even dressed in a special costume, inevitably lead to free love in its most scandalous form. The Socialist community under its Supreme Father, as Enfantin was styled, became a veritable Agapemone, and Enfantin found himself in the dock charged with offences against the Code. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and the payment of a fine. The history of St. Simonism is a lesson in the inherent tendencies of Communism. It demonstrated the solidarity of the great human dogma: 'my own wife: my own property,' neither part of which can be assailed without danger to the whole. These early developments are the more significant, from the fact

that, in following the history of the movement, we repeatedly find Socialism charged with free-love tendencies. If, as Socialists protest, the accusations are unjust, the greater is the malice of the world.[1]

The influence of the Commune is again strong in the Communism or Socialism of Fourier, who was a young ideologist of twenty-two at Robespierre's death. St. Simon was proletarian and authoritarian; Fourier proletarian and anti-authoritarian. The anarchistic ideal of the free Commune was fundamental in Fourier's system, his social colony, termed phalanx, being only the Commune in another name, with the logical addition that it was regulated internally by strict Communistic methods. It is unnecessary to deal in detail with the remarkable proposals of this recognised prophet of Socialism. Two things, however, are worthy of note: one, that Fourier's explanations as to the working out of the Socialist State bear striking resemblance in many points to those of contemporary

[1] The fact is worthy of note that when these accusations were first levelled against the St. Simonians, Bazard and Enfantin issued an emphatic denial in the following terms:—

'The St. Simonists do not aim at abolishing the sacred law of marriage proclaimed by Christianity; on the contrary, they desire to fulfil this law, to give it a new sanction, to add to the authority and inviolability of the union it consecrates.

'They ask, like Christians, that one man be united to one woman.

'The religion of St. Simon seeks only to abolish the shameful traffic, the legal prostitution, which at present, under the name of marriage, so often consecrates the unnatural union of self-sacrifice and egotism, intelligence and ignorance, youth and decrepitude.'—Address of Bazard and Enfantin to the Chamber of Deputies, October 1, 1830.

popular Socialists;[1] the other, that Fourier, like Enfantin, recognised the logical connection between community of possessions and free love. In his conception of the Socialist state human passions were to be given a loose rein, and cohabitation between the sexes was to begin at desire and end at will.

In the fifteen years succeeding Waterloo the Communist movement was slowly recovering itself, half independently of the preachers of the new ideas. Buonarroti, St. Simon, and Fourier did not evoke the popular commotion which suddenly broke across the thread of their speculations. The movement was already there, though latent; and perhaps the greatest effect produced by the Socialist thinkers was, by the permeation of their ideas—for such ideas always rapidly permeate the quarters most sympathetic to them—to give the insurrectionaries an encouraging assurance of literary support and leading—a sign that the good times of social revolution were coming in again. The Socialist writers, original as their speculations seemed to some of their contemporaries, were merely giving expression, like their predecessors, to vague but strong sentiments co-existing in the minds of a section of the people. They were repeating to willing hearers the teachings of Robespierre, St. Just, Marat, and Babœuf in a form and dress suited to the early nineteenth century. Nothing

[1] The 'Answers to Objections' contributed by Mr. R. B. Suthers the Socialist *Clarion*, and similar writings by other Socialists, reproduce some of Fourier's proposals, after seventy years, with marked fidelity.

speaks more decisively as to the organic character and unity of the proletarian movement than the remarkable fact that it arose again in the years 1815 to 1830, with so little in the way of interpretation and organisation. Only a favourable turn of political events was needed to set the train in motion: and that came, as generally happens.

XVII

The Unexpected happens: Renascence of Insurrection

The Revolution of July—from the proletarian standpoint the least successful of all the insurrections—is the most remarkable and significant in its scientific aspect. We have in this uprising the true type of inherited, instinctive popular movement. It has been previously remarked that no insurrection can establish itself without a basis and a base—a compact set of principles and a centre of organisation. The movement of 1830 had neither. The new Communism of St. Simon and Fourier had not yet been welded into a body of doctrine: there had been no Robespierre to take it across the threshold which divides political theory from policy. The only actual leading which the movement received came from some groups of Red Republicans, international conspirators, who had founded secret insurrectionary societies in Paris during the last few years previous to the outbreak. Add to these disadvantages the fact that the Reaction in 1815 had

been so complete, that the continuity of the proletarian movement was broken, and it was necessary to begin again at the beginning—to reconquer political liberty as the first step towards economic equality. Despite all these drawbacks, the insurrectionary movement rose, sudden, powerful, and terrible, and rulers and governments watched the phenomenon with that naïve surprise which gives European political society the pleasing air of perpetual youth.

Heaven knows to what trivial, absurd, and wholly inadequate causes the insurrection of 1830 was attributed by the second-rate race of politicians who had succeeded the giants of the epopeia. As strong governments are wont to assign their defeat at the polls to some small matter of misrepresentation, some petty piece of treachery, some minor defect in electoral organisation, or to the erratic movement of a political pendulum which always 'swings' when politicians are gravelled—to anything on earth but the right cause, the natural growth of some great popular movement with which the government has lost touch —so the Europe of 1830 saw in the Three Days of July anything but the fact of a sudden exercise of strength by a pre-existing and cohesive political force.

The theory of a mere ebullition on the part of the light and reckless Paris democracy, and the counter-theory of a grim, Titanic outburst by an outraged people groaning under intolerable oppression, may be left to resolve one another like the two halves of an equation. Paris, be it remembered, is a northern, not

a southern city, and the characteristic quality of its people's politics is not lightness, but intensivity, the power of interpreting the feeling of the European populace. It is one of the lessons of history that insurrection is impossible without a pre-existing and powerful movement. A handful of agitators, even in the most favourable political conditions, cannot induce an insurrection unless the army of revolt has been previously prepared; and the recruitment of such a force is as much a matter of time as the raising and organisation of an army corps. A complete concatenation of circumstances is necessary to the production of a general rising. We have seen that the Jacobin-Communists, even at the height of their power in 1793, had to foment insurrection for three successive days before they could raise a sufficient force to overcome the Convention and obtain the arrest of the Girondists. Men of experience ought to have known, men of judgment must have known, that such a movement as that of the Jacobin-Communists, which had once controlled France, might be driven under the surface, but could not be crushed by the simple process of Reaction. Misuse of political power by a section of the people cannot be corrected by a refusal of political rights to the people at large. The Bourbons, by their policy of reaction, successfully drove a large number of sound workmen into the ranks of the Social Revolution.

The insurrectionary movement of 1830 was a mixture of forces, in which the international conspirators and the new Communists (St. Simonists and Fourier-

ists) had their part: but the main body was composed of the men who had directly inherited the spirit and the teachings of 'Quatre-vingt-treize.' Not a few of the older men then living must have taken the pay of the Commune as members of the Armed Sections and the Revolutionary Army. Some of them had doubtless worked in the Commune's workshops. Most of them had wielded the power of the vote in the epoch of the Sovereign People. The State Socialism of the Convention, the municipal Socialism of the Commune, was as real a heritage to the proletariat of Paris as the portraits of Robespierre, St. Just, and Babœuf, which hung on their walls. The measures which conceded to the people the right to work, and despoiled the capitalists of their profit and interest, must have been discussed in the daily parliament of the working-classes—the dinner-hour—as the glories of a past and the hope of a future age. The whole course of history since 1793 proves that the populace has continued to prize both the ideals and the reality of that epoch far more than the splendours of the Napoleonic era.

The proletarian movement was thus gathering strength and passion throughout the short and impotent reign of Charles X. It wanted nothing but an opportunity; and, that arriving, it leapt to the struggle with the ferocity of a hungry lion. When the way was thrown open to the people by the quarrel between the King and the Assembly, the insurrectionary proletariat poured into the streets, armed with the pikes with which their fathers had menaced the Convention

in 1793.[1] The workmen who had been thrown out of employment by the closing of the printing works and other establishments were the vanguard of the revolt.[2] Instinctively they flocked to the Hôtel de Ville, the historic headquarters of the Commune, and gave their support to the installation of an insurrectional government. A new Danton rose up in the person of Mauguin, and a Municipal Commission was appointed with virtually sovereign powers. The gunshops and arsenals were rushed, the military batteries were stopped, and a hundred thousand insurgents—previously without weapons—were under arms before the authorities realised the danger. The middle classes, who had upheld the King through the National Guard, were dazed at this sudden reapparition of the Class War, and stood by inactively, as during the Reign of Terror, while the battalions of regular infantry were overwhelmed in a murderous conflict. But, through the lack of prominent leaders, a definite set of principles, and a political organisation, the republican proletarians were deprived of the fruits of victory. In

[1] 'The leaders, astonished at their own strength, were alarmed at the very excess of the excitement. The indomitable masses—the people in rags—the populace of the faubourgs in the opulent streets—their unwonted weapons, the pikes, reminiscent of the Reign of Terror—the industrial implements converted into weapons of civil war—the pillage of the gunsmiths' shops—the torches brandished by mad hands about the streets—the blood, the first drops of which swelled into floods—made them hesitate, reflect, and tremble before their own work.'—Lamartine, *History of the Restoration*, vol. iv. bk. 49.

[2] C. A. Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, vol. ii. p. 369 (London: Cassells, 1892).

default of any other leader of high authority, they were forced to rally round Lafayette at the Hôtel de Ville, through whose instrumentality they were induced to accept a compromise in the person of Louis Philippe.[1] The new king, if not really acceptable, was at least tolerable as a former member of the Jacobin Club and the son of the regicide, equalitarian Duke of Orleans.

It was a sign of the times that, in 1830, the people still retained the national flag, and the watchword of the Revolution was 'Vive la Charte!'—a cry which was echoed beyond the Channel a few years later in the demands of the English Chartists. It took but few years to educate the rank and file from a political to an economic programme, and to wean them from the tricolour to the Red Flag.

The Paris insurrection was not the only surprise of 1830. The unity of the European proletarian movement was demonstrated by a general democratic rally. Paris had struck the tocsin for a series of insurgent commotions, all necessarily marked, in the circumstances of the international situation, by political rather than economic features. The first insurrection broke out in the Netherlands, in August 1830, and took the form of a separationist revolt of the Belgian people, then under Dutch overlordship. The populace of Brussels rose and threw up barricades, and a pro-

[1] 'No single person who had fought in the streets had risked his life for the sake of making Louis Philippe king; in so far as the Parisians had fought for any definite political idea, they had fought for the Republic.'—Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, vol. ii. p. 375.

visional government was formed.[1] The European powers were alarmed, and Belgium was hurriedly given her independence. Abortive but threatening revolts broke out in Germany and Italy. In the latter country there was planned for February 1831 a widespread insurrection, which nearly led to war between the Austrian and French governments. The German trouble appeared in Brunswick, Cassel, and Bavaria. A body of Germans and Poles rose in insurrection at Frankfort, and a revolutionary army of Italians, Poles, and others—moving in concert with the Frankfort conspirators—made a raid on Savoy. The most sanguinary insurrection, however, took place in Poland. A democratic party led a revolt at Warsaw in November 1830, the capital was captured, and a provisional government was appointed. After ten months of sanguinary conflict, Warsaw was retaken and the insurrection subdued.

XVIII

Industrial Expansion

The insurrectionary movement in France did not end with the Revolution of July. The proletarians,

[1] It is noteworthy that foreign insurrectionaries, mostly French, went to the aid of the Belgian proletariat in this rising. Foreign assistance, indeed, was rendered throughout the whole series of outbreaks in 1830 and 1848. The facts are among the abundant evidences of the international character of the movement. See Fyffe, *Modern Europe*, vol. ii. pp. 384, 399, 409, and other authorities.

having learnt their strength, and resentful of the small advantage they had obtained by the three days of July, arrayed themselves in determined hostility to the capitalist class and the bourgeois King. There were repeated disorders at Paris, and revolutionary societies spread through the country. A new factor had come on the scene of European politics—the rise of industrialism. For generations past the industrial system of production, which has enlarged so vastly the world's output of material wealth, had been growing, and factories had increased in size and numbers: but it was not until after Waterloo that Europe put forth all its industrial energy. Between 1815 and 1830 the expansion of the system was rapid, bringing with it a great increase of town population and the multiplication of an army of industrial workers, divided into factory battalions and subject to a discipline which ended at the factory gates. The convenience of this organisation for insurrectional purposes did not fail to fascinate the imagination of revolutionary leaders, who saw in the manual workers a ready-made army of revolt. The conditions of the worker's life by day accustomed them to co-operation and obedience to leadership: their complete freedom at night and on holidays gave every opportunity to those who wished to incite them to social mutiny.

To the conspirators against European society the spread of the system seemed a veritable godsend, and, so soon as the importance of the new factor was thoroughly realised, the Communist propaganda began to be cast more and more in terms of industrialism.

The class war between the rich and the poor was more precisely stated as a struggle between the masters and the proletariat—employers and employed. The term 'capitalist' was definitely substituted for 'aristocrat.' The omnipotent authority of the State over all individuals and all property blossomed into the fully developed doctrine of 'the socialisation of the land and the means of production.' The whole of the recuperative period 1830-1848 was occupied in developing the industrial thesis on these lines. About 1830, therefore, the proletarian movement entered on a new phase and took on a somewhat new appearance, which has misled Socialistic writers—either superficial or biassed—to assume that the Socialist movement proper is essentially a product of the great industrial period which succeeded Waterloo. Such an assumption is wholly unhistorical, and denotes, not only a lack of the critical faculty, but a complete failure to grasp the conception of a great, organic process of historic evolution. The Socialist historian who omits the Babœufist, Robespierrist, and Hébertist movements from his survey, and ignores the views of Alison, Mallet, Helmolt, Rambaud, and other authorities as to the origins of Socialism, may be honest, but cannot be pronounced penetrating or well-informed.

The 1830 transition introduced the period of 'Labour' politics as such: hereafter the separation between the proletarian and the bourgeois, between Labour and Capital, becomes more sharply defined. The reason why 'Labour' was not brought into such prominence in the Robespierrist period is simply stated

by M. Rambaud: 'Virtually the whole of the social question at that epoch resided in the agrarian question, there being, correctly speaking, no question of Labour. . . . The emigration of the rich, the excesses of the lower classes, the requisitions, the law of the maximum, and civil war destroyed what little industry and commerce still subsisted in France.'[1] Thus the first and most important stage in the proletarian movement passed before the massed battalions of Labour, in the modern industrial sense, comes on the scene. The conception of the movement as wholly or essentially industrial is an error of the later Socialists, who have neglected to study their own history: the movement is essentially proletarian—locally it may be either agrarian or industrial.

The chief effect of the industrial factor was to broaden the significance and intensify the menace of the proletarian insurgence. From 1830 to 1834 there was a wave of fierce anti-capitalism, which, after a series of conflicts at Paris, broke out at Lyons, the political sub-capital of France. A strike of manual workers, fomented by native and foreign revolutionaries, resulted in an insurrection which spread through the centre and south of France. Coercive laws were passed by the government, and were effectual in repressing the outbreaks.

The political revolt of 1830 prepared the way for the social insurrection of 1848. From the rising of July sprang an aggressive Republican-Communist movement—the immediate progenitor of the Socialist

[1] *Historians' History of the World*, vol. xii.

movement of to-day—whose leaders developed the doctrines and lauded the memory of their Jacobin-Communist predecessors. The glorification of Robespierre and the Commune of 1793 was revived to reinspire the proletariat and kindle in the new generation the Communarian fire of the old. The measures of 'quatre-vingt-treize' were praised and their adjustment to the conditions of the time discussed and approved. The years which immediately followed the Revolution of July were, in the main, years of germination. Public attention was concentrated on the St. Simonist and Fourierist systems, and the proposals expanded into propaganda. There was a new ferment of Communistic intellection. Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie*, printed in 1839, circulated among the workers of France as Blatchford's *Merrie England* has circulated of late years in England; and is acknowledged to have exercised a far-reaching influence in preparing the people for the events to come. Proudhon printed his *What is Property?* in 1840. An extremist among extremists, he had an inconvenient candour in carrying the political and economic theories of the Socialist movement to their logical conclusion. Teaching that property was theft, he proposed the gradual abolition of rent and interest; he held that all workers, from highest to lowest, should receive equal pay for an equal day's work; and, true heir of the Commune of 1793, advocated the extreme form of decentralisation which he styled Anarchism. Proudhon's teaching was one of the forces which fomented the proletarian insurrection of 1848. He is to-day

recognised by Socialists as one of the pioneers of their movement.[1]

XIX

Gathering of the Storm

Between 1840 and 1848 the revolutionary ferment at Paris gained in strength, and insurrectionaries from all parts of Europe clustered to the spot. The Russian Bakunin, who was later to don the mantle of Elijah as the second prophet of Anarchism, visited Proudhon. The German pioneers of Socialism, Marx, Engels, and Lassalle, also stayed in Paris, and assisted at the brewing of the storm. During these years the rapid improvement in European travelling facilities had brought with it a free international exchange of ideas between the proletarians, and had thereby introduced another factor of the first importance into the situation. Henceforward European governments, each isolated within its own national limits, were to be assailed in detail by the co-operating international proletarian forces, which had acquired all the strategic advantages of interior lines for either attack or defence; a fact which was destined to lead to the most far-reaching results, though never to this day appreciated in all its meaning by Europe. Thus we find Engels now in Paris, now in London, now in Brussels, acting as the mental medium of exchange between Robert Owen, Marx, the Chartist Feargus O'Connor, and Proudhon.

[1] See *Socialism*, by J. Ramsay Macdonald, p. 30 (London: T. C. and E. C. Jack).

But, although the movement was international, Paris was still its cockpit, and the Paris proletariat, under the influence of a trio of leaders, was its advance-guard. . Cabet, the dreamer, gave the populace an ideal; Proudhon, the Anarchist, ministered to the insurrectionary spirit; Louis Blanc, the Ramsay Macdonald of his time, was the systematiser of the movement. It was Blanc's mission to endeavour to bring the Socialism of the theorisers into line with the politics of the day. He sought the way to Socialist reform through political action, and aimed to employ the existing political machinery of society for its own destruction. But the man who attempts to use a printing machine for a plough is foredoomed to failure, and Louis Blanc's political career proved him to be as foolish a dreamer as Cabet, as hopeless an impossibilist as Proudhon. The Father of Modern Socialist Methods, as he has been styled,[1] made a parade of industrial information, declaimed eloquently of the disorder and waste of individualistic production, and propounded as a remedy his famous scheme of Social Workshops. The State, acting as 'the banker of the poor,' was to subsidise associations of workers. The co-operative social workshops were to be controlled by elective officials, and all the workers were to receive equal pay. Under these conditions they would produce more economically than private industrial enterprises

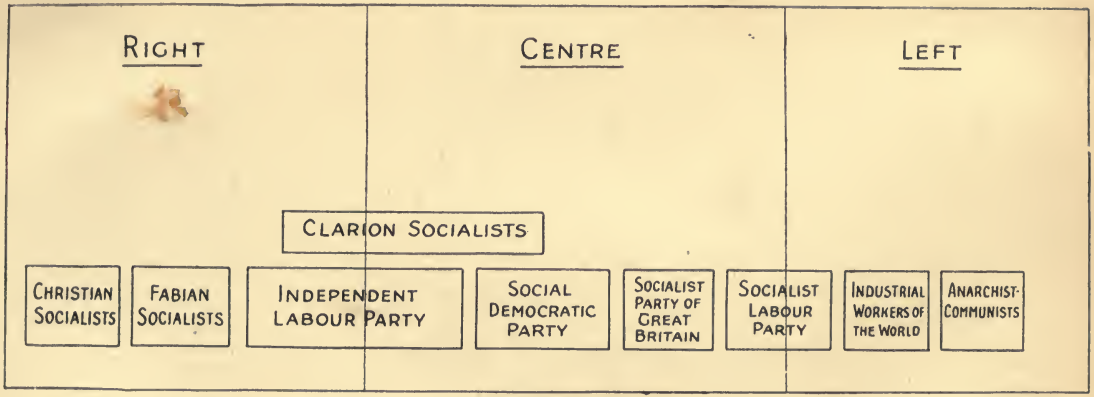
[1] *Socialism*, by J. Ramsay Macdonald, p. 26 (London: T. C. and E. C. Jack). The unconscious humour of the epithet, as applied to one who was an opportunist as a Socialist, ineffective as a reformer, and a failure as a politician, is typical.

which they would therefore supersede 'gradually, quietly, and without shock,' entirely by their own merit. In a word, State Socialism would stifle private enterprise, quietly and without shock, by resources drawn from its own pockets. The principle of modern political and municipal Socialism was never more aptly set forth. The resemblance between Blanc and the modern parliamentary Socialist is completed by his insistence on non-revolutionary methods. 'He drew men's attention away from revolution; he felt that the Liberal epoch had made revolution unnecessary and therefore misleading.'[1] He was still drawing men's attention away from revolution when the Revolution of 1848 broke out.[2]

[1] *Socialism*, by J. Ramsay Macdonald, p. 27 (London: T. C. and E. C. Jack). Strangely enough, Blanc seems also to have held the consoling belief that 'Liberalism is the Spring of which Socialism is the Summer.'

[2] Although Louis Blanc was in theory and policy a pacifist, his propaganda was one of the foremost elements in the Socialist agitation which was the direct cause of the insurrection: so impossible is it for a leader to alter the insurrectional character of the Socialist movement. Lahure, *Histoire Contemporaine de la France* (Paris: Hachette, 1864) says: 'Propagation des idées socialistes.—Pendant tout le règne de Louis Philippe un mal profond mina sourdement la société, et fut la cause la plus directe de la révolution qui va éclater. . . . C'étaient là les idées d'un livre publié en 1840, "l'Organisation du Travail," par M. Louis Blanc. . . . Et ces idées répandues soit par des journaux, soit par des brochures, soit par des livres que de timides répressions judiciaires n'arrêtaient pas, soit par des sociétés qui agissaient dans l'ombre, s'en allaient dans le monde des ateliers. . . . Un travail souterrain ruinait peu à peu les notions du sens commun [et] préparait l'anarchie qui suivit la révolution de Février.' This passage, written in 1864, concludes with a striking warning, that the authors of the insurrection of 1848 were still alive. Had it not been for the political

THE BRITISH SOCIALIST MOVEMENT



NOTE.—This diagram shows the position and relationship of the various sections in the British Socialist movement, ranging from the Christian Socialists on the Right to the revolutionary Anarchist-Communists on the extreme Left. As in Plate II., the Right of the Socialist army is the Left of the reader.

PLATE III.

The internationalism of the outbreak is important as affording evidence that the highly civilised conditions of the modern world offer no guarantee against outbreaks of insurrection. The conditions of Europe in 1848 were substantially what they are to-day. The system of railways, steamships, postage, telegraphs, the press, and the other civilising inventions which are supposed to serve the cause of international peace, so far from opposing any bar to the revolution, positively favoured it. We are led to conclude, not only that Europe is as subject to insurrection at the present day as in 1793, but that, if an outbreak should occur, it would probably be more widespread and disastrous than any of its predecessors. The machinery of society and production, in becoming more complex, has become also more vulnerable; while the perfection of international communications has made the proletarian ferment more contagious, and insurrection, in consequence, more facile.

XX

1848

The Revolution of 1848—the third great insurrection in the series of the proletarian movement—is of quadruple importance. In its European extent, its

blindness which has afflicted society in the presence of the social revolution, the insurrection of 1871 might have been guarded against; but in 1864, as in 1909, people had the illusion that the time of social insurrection had passed.

economic character, its political strategy, and its proletarian power, it forms the key-type of the modern Social Revolution. Both the first French Revolution and the revolt of 1830 had been accompanied by a general disturbance of the European peoples; but in the circumstances of the time there was some excuse for the failure of society to realise the unity of the European movement. The Revolution of 1848 was an advance on the two previous outbreaks, in that it was incontestably, decisively international. The violence and rapidity of the insurrection as it flew round Europe testified to the solidarity of the movement behind it. The successive risings of the populace at Berlin, Vienna, Dresden, Milan, London, Prague, Rome, and Buda Pesth could not be explained away as coincidental or merely sympathetic disturbances. The whole comity of nations was forced to realise, if only for a moment, that the commotion which shook the stability of every great power was not French, or German, or English, or Austrian, but strictly European. It would have been well for the nations if that impression had remained.

The economic character of the movement was no less marked. On its ideological side the revolution was made by the group of French writers and the cluster of international insurrectionaries already mentioned—all of whom, without exception, were working for an economic object. In their political strategy the revolutionaries repeated the methods of the Commune and of 1830 with complete success, taking prompt advantage of a political trouble in which the King and

the Chamber were embroiled to set going a social insurrection; and thereby proving that, as in 1830, so in 1848, the proletarians were resolved to pour in whenever a breach should be laid open in the constitutional government. The newly found power of the proletariat was demonstrated by their being able to force their own representatives on the Provisional Government. These representatives — minor men omitted—were two: Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc. The one was supported by the Red Republicans—the political equalitarians who worshipped the Commune and the sanguinary men of 1793—the old Communists, as they may be styled. The other stood for the new school of Socialists and economic Communists. They personified two branches of the same movement; the difference between them being that Ledru-Rollin put Republicanism and Blanc Socialism to the fore.[1]

Unconscious as society in 1848 was of the broad truths of evolution, what most struck English observers of the insurrection was the extraordinary resemblances it bore at many points to the movement of 1792-3. G. H. Lewes, after commenting on the close relation between the views on property circulated by the insurrectionaries in 1848 with those held in the first French Revolution, writes in the year 1849: 'The parallel between the ideas which agitated France in 1791 and 1848 is very singular. The same hopes, the same

[1] As a matter of fact, Blanc's political affiliations were the same as Ledru-Rollin's. In his *Histoire de la France* he wrote as a fervid apologist and admirer of Robespierre. The work is one of the many collateral proofs of the relationship of Socialism to Robespierrism.

formulas, the same extravagant errors, the same strong sense of necessity for more perfect social justice may be read in the writings of both epochs.'[1] There is, of course, nothing more 'singular' in the resemblance than there is in the likeness between Amurath and Amurath.

As the different sections of the insurrections had co-operated against the constitutionals in the proletarian movement of two generations previously, so in 1848 the Red Republicans and the Socialist-Communists formed a single insurrectionary force. When Lamartine and Arago had robbed the Provisional Government of control over the elements of disorder by carrying the abolition of the pain of death for political offences, the lower classes surged in arms about the Hôtel de Ville, menaced the powerless ministers, and demanded a new 1793 with the acceptance of the ominous Red Flag. Meanwhile Louis Blanc, brought into the government under the wing of the vicious democrat Ledru-Rollin, presided over a series of Labour Conferences at the Luxembourg, and procured the establishment of some National Workshops. The Conferences led to nothing, and the workshops were a costly and perilous failure.[2]

[1] *Life of Robespierre*, p. 168. Lewes, by the way, comments on the demand of advanced women for votes, on the ground of equality with men, as one of the stigmata of the social revolutionary movement. He adds elsewhere: 'In the fearful insurrection of 1848, the women also proved themselves to be the children of 1792.'

[2] Socialist apologists, from Lassalle to Russell Smart, have maintained that the National Workshops were not a fair test, and that they were so constituted as to throw intentional discredit

The Republican-Socialist government, with all the resources of a rich nation behind it, except public confidence, was unable to find money enough to pay a steady wage to the men whom the revolution itself had thrown out of work. The National Workshops served no other end than to draw to a focus the worst elements of Paris and the provinces. The violent, the workshy, the discontented, the loquacious, the rogues —all flocked to the haven provided for them, and multiplied one another's vices by association. The workshops became veritable nightmares for the Government, and centres of sedition for the capital. The end came when the proletariat of Paris—old Communists, new Communists, and Socialists together—rose in a bloody revolt under the Red Flag. Cavaignac, called in as a military dictator, repressed the rising with

on the Socialist scheme. The contention is a perfect illustration of a certain puerility and mental obliquity in Socialist arguments. It is indeed highly probable that no member of the Government but Blanc believed in the scheme. But all social plans must be realised by means of human nature; and if Blanc's proposals failed because the human nature of his colleagues was unregenerate, this is only to say that Socialism must necessarily fail in practice. It was the very essence of Blanc's position that Socialism was achievable by means of existing political agencies. Again, admitting that Blanc was thwarted by his colleagues, is there a vestige of reason for supposing that his Social Workshops would have succeeded where the National failed? Is it even conceivable that co-operative associations, in which all grades of skill and intelligence were paid alike, could possibly compete with private enterprises in which intelligence was rewarded in proportion to its productivity? It should be noted, in conclusion, that Blanc's scheme of Social Workshops was a copy of the system of public workshops set up by the Commune in 1792-3, and that the effects in both cases were almost identical.

great slaughter,[1] and Louis Blanc, the apostle of Socialism by non-revolutionary methods, fled the country under a charge of complicity in the insurrection. The accusation was inexact. Blanc, in the midst of revolution, doubtless continued fatuously to believe in the advent of Socialism by pacific methods. He did not realise until too late that he had placed himself, by his propaganda of 'L'Organisation du Travail,' at the head of a revolutionary force. He discovered then that, whereas he had supposed he was making new converts for parliamentary Socialism, he was merely giving a voice and a formula to Revolution.

XXI

The Insurgent Proletariat of Europe

1848 is the half-way station on the grand route of the insurrectionary movement. Taking our stand at that point, we can look along the road by which the proletarian forces arrived, and that by which they have gone forward; and we see plainly that these are one and the same. We see that 1848 is the natural offspring of 1793 and the parent of 1909, and that the proletarian movement, though often checked and broken up, has always rallied its dispersed forces, produced its symbols anew as Foresters bring out their insignia from time to time, and rolled forward in greater

[1] 'The Socialists were not put down until ten thousand men had been stretched dead and wounded upon the pavement.'—Thatcher and Schwill, *History of Europe*, p. 506.

numbers and with more resistless strength to a new encounter with European society, moving always in the direction of Communism, and showing that massive indifference to carnage which the Russian soldiery display when exposed in serried ranks to the havoc of artillery.

Assuredly, the outbreaks of 1848, which shook nearly every European nation to its foundations, did for a moment impress European society with some sense of the fact that it was faced, then and henceforward, by an organic movement, an upheaval of the proletariat, transcending all national limitations and bound for an economic goal. A vague but terrifying feeling that no institutions were safe, that the bases of European order were melting from beneath the constitutional edifice, took possession of many minds till then unshaken by doubt. Nothing illustrates the feeling of the time more forcibly than the remarkable letters—fervent, imploring, and almost self-humiliating—sent by the King of Prussia to Queen Victoria at this juncture.[1] The King clearly perceived that only a

[1] 'February 27, 1848. Most Gracious Queen and Sister. . . . God has permitted events which decisively threaten the peace of Europe. . . . If the revolutionary party carries out its programme, "the sovereignty of the people," my minor crown will be broken, no less certainly than the mighty crowns of your Majesty, and a fearful scourge will be laid upon the nations: a century of rebellion, of lawlessness, of godlessness. . . . God has placed in your Majesty's hands, in the hands of the two Emperors, in those of the German Confederation, and in mine, a power which, if it now acts in union and harmony, with reliance on Heaven, is able, humanly speaking, to enforce with certainty the maintenance of the peace of the world. The power I mean is "the power of united speech." In

united Europe could deal with a universal Social Revolution, and threw out suggestions of concerted action which Europe may yet be glad to adopt.

The insurrectionary movement associated with the year 1848 began, as a matter of fact, in 1846 with the Polish revolt in Galicia. The rising was planned in Paris by the impossibilist Polish refugees who later, in 1848, insolently told Lamartine that their influence in France was greater than his. It was started by the land-owning nobles, who were genuinely surprised when they found the peasantry quite willing to rise in insurrection—but against them. They accused the Austrian government of instigating a Communistic rising, and Metternich, in reply, stated that the insurgence of the peasants was due to the action of the nobles themselves in attempting to force the men into their ranks. Both explanations were wrong. The Communistic rising of the peasantry was simply a phase of the European proletarian revolt, which was now passing from the political stage and was becoming again, as in 1791-3, a social and expropriatary movement. The Jacquerie of Galicia were teaching their former leaders the true meaning of the Class War.

The storm of 1848, in breaking over Europe, took its local form from the special conditions of the regions in which it appeared, in accordance with the law of local

the year 1830 the use of this immeasurable power was criminally neglected. . . . On both knees I adjure you, use for the welfare of Europe, "Engellands England." With these words I fall at your Majesty's feet.'—*Letters of Queen Victoria*, 1837-1861. Published by the Authority of H.M. the King. 3 vols. (London: John Murray.)

and epochal variation previously stated. Thus in France, where the economic soil had been well prepared for it, the rising took at the beginning a political form, which rapidly changed to an economic form when the insurrection obtained the ascendance. From first to last the history of the movement shows that the political insurgence is only a prelude to the sterner reality of a social or economic revolution. In Austria, as was to be expected, the general character of the insurrection was political; in Hungary there was a marked economic element in the strife. There was rioting and street fighting at Vienna; Metternich resigned and fled, and the Emperor was forced to abdicate. The decentralist tendency, which is one of the most marked and inevitable features of the proletarian movement, was prompt to assert itself in the case of Hungary. The democratic revolutionaries demanded and obtained that independence for the kingdom which—soon wholly lost and later almost wholly re-won—has since been a source of so much satisfaction to the local pride of Hungary and of so much dissension and weakness to the Empire. A social insurrection after the Galician model was only prevented by granting the tenant peasantry proprietary rights over their holdings, the question of compensation to the landlords being settled by the easy declaration that the debt was one for the nation to honour.[1] Bohemia followed the example of Hungary, and it is significant of the class hostility which is the dominating principle of the Social Revolution that, although

[1] Fyffe, *Modern Europe*, vol. iii.

one attempt was made in the early stage of the agitation to unite all classes and give the demand of the nation a constitutional form, the democrats of Prague broke away and took charge of the movement at the head of the street mobs. Another of the unmistakable stigmata of the proletarian movement appeared here. This was the formation of a national guard—that force of civic soldiery exempt from military law which has been the striking arm of the Social Revolution throughout.

The insurrection appeared simultaneously in Lombardy. The populace of Milan rose in revolt, threw up barricades, and forced the captured Vice-Governor, O'Donell, to sign a decree handing over the government to the Municipal Council, or Commune. At Venice a national guard was organised, a provisional government formed, and a Republic proclaimed. Thus everywhere we see the proletarian insurrectionary movement reproducing its familiar features. Local leaders and insurrectionaries may or may not have had definite intentions of their own; but, in any event, they were unable to escape the impetus and incapable of varying the means or changing the direction of the organic movement which had swept through Europe from 1789 onward. In each locality we see some particular aspect of the Social Revolution: in Galicia, the Class War; in Hungary, decentralisation and the right of the sovereign people to the land; in Bohemia, the national guard; in Lombardy, the usurpation of the Commune; in Venice, the proclamation of the Republic.

At Berlin the Prussian King found his forebodings only too grimly realised. A fortnight after the despatch of his letter to Queen Victoria, Frederick William anxiously beheld his capital — the central fortress of an iron-bound military system—in a state of insurrection. There was a conflict between the troops and the populace—one of the accidental conflicts which generally happen when the proletariat has been aroused and presses upon the king or government to present its entirely pacific demands—and the King was forced to become for the nonce the plaything of the sovereign people. A Constituent Assembly was demanded, and a National Assembly was promised. Most significantly, one of the demands made and conceded was that a civic militia should be formed, with power to choose its own officers.

The tale of this third period of insurrection is not yet told. There was rebellion in Holstein, and a Republican insurrection in Baden. Vienna was in fresh trouble in the month of May, and a Committee of Public Safety was actually formed. In October there was another insurrection, in which the essential weakness of a National Guard, at the critical moment when its steadiness is most requisite, was evident. Troops were ordered to march by the Central Government, and the proletariat resisted the order. Some battalions of the National Guard turned out in support of the government, but these were overpowered by the working-class battalions, and the government offices were stormed, Latour, the war minister, being murdered in the courtyard of the War Office, as De Flesselles

had been assassinated before the Hôtel de Ville in 1789. Rome and Sicily were drawn into the general convulsion, and there was an agrarian insurrection in Romania, which was marked by many ferocities. A second rising took place in Baden, and barricades were erected at Frankfort. The Assembly at Berlin was dominated by a riotous and violent mob which went to the length of storming an arsenal and made continual demonstrations in the streets, until the Assembly was turned out of doors and the Civic Guard compelled to disarm. So the insurrection ran its course, inundating the greater part of Europe, and proving once again that—no matter how virtuous, or how pacific, the intentions of some of its leaders, no matter what opportunity of success circumstances might throw open to it—such are its inherent vices that its only and necessary end is anarchy. This period of violence ranged from 1846 to 1849.

XXII

The Right and Centre

There was now proceeding in the proletarian movement a development which was reflected in its names. Up to this period the terms Socialism and Communism had been used in a special significance. Reybaud, in his *Réformateurs Modernes*, printed in 1840, introduced the word Socialist from England.[1] Between 1840 and

[1] The earliest use of the word Socialism has been the subject of much inquiry among Socialist writers. Mr. Kirkup states that

1848 it was generally applied to the social reconstructionists of the epoch—the St. Simonists, Fourier, Proudhon, and Louis Blanc in France; the Owenites and Christian Socialists in England; the humanitarian social reconstructionists in Germany. The Communist movement of the period was, in the words of Engels, 'a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctive sort of Communism.'[1] Its centre was Paris; its supporters were the insurrectionary working-classes, whose fathers had been the strength of the Commune of 1793. Their battle-cry was as much 'Vive la Commune!' as 'Vive le Communisme!' Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie* was the Utopian handbook of the movement; and Cabet's political affiliations were shown by his glorification of the Jacobins of the Commune in his *History of the French Revolution.* Weitling, the author of *The World as it Is, and as it Might Be,* and *The Guarantees of Harmony and Freedom,* played a somewhat similar part to Cabet in fomenting the German Communist agitation.

There were thus two parallel movements—the Socialist and the Communist. There was no clear

the term was coined in England in 1835, in connection with Owen's *Association of All Classes of All Nations.* So, too, the late G. J. Holyoake. Mr. Spargo says that the first appearance of the word was in August 24, 1835, when an English correspondent, writing to the press, signed himself 'A Socialist.' There is, however, a prior instance. The French writer, Pierre Leroux, employed the term 'socialisme' as the antithesis to 'individualisme' in 1832. Probably still earlier instances of its use could be discovered.

[1] Preface to the *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* 1888 edition. London: W. Reeves. In this preface, Engels significantly adds, with reference to the name Communist: 'Moreover, we have ever since been far from repudiating it.'

line of scission between the two. Weitling, the disciple of Fourier, was regarded as a Communist: Fourier himself as a Socialist. The municipal Communism of Paris had influenced both men, but in divergent directions. While a clear definition of the two forces is impossible, broadly it may be said that the one movement represented Utopian Social Reform, the other proletarian Social Revolution. From the attacks on the Socialism of the day by Marx and Engels in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, it is evident that the Communists applied the term Socialist to the class of reformers and ideologists who, believing the plight of the workers desperate, hope to save them from above—as, for instance, men of the type of Kingsley and Arnold Toynbee; whereas Communism is the doctrine of the proletarians determined to release themselves from beneath. This bears out the statement already made, that Socialism and Communism are the obverse and reverse of the same social movement. One thing is plain, that Marx regards Communism as an actual, political, and revolutionary movement. The Socialists, to Marx, were the poor fools who believed that the proletarian revolution could be achieved by pacific means—who fancied that Capitalism could be stroked to death, or that the Capitalist, by a well-turned argument, might be induced to apply the razor to his own throat. As for the Communists, their methods are direct and avowed. 'The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their aims can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let

the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution.'[1] The ink in which these words were written was not long dry before the Communistic insurrection actually broke out. The document which they conclude had opened with a menace of the forces of Communism in five countries—Italy, Russia, Austria, France, and Germany. Insurrection appeared in four out of the five.

Since 1848 the Socialist and Communist movements have come together. One has given a name to the combined army; the other has supplied the main forces and the principles. The identity of the Communist movement of 1848 with the Socialism of to-day is acknowledged by Socialist writers such as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who states: 'Communism at that time was the name under which Socialism under its more modern form passed.'[2] Thus the movement to-day is essentially a Communist movement—a proletarian army of which revolutionary Communism forms the main body, and reform Socialism the right wing. The tracing of this descent is an aid to the comprehension of the otherwise confusing differences between the rival sections of contemporary Socialism. Where we find a strong, defiant, proletarian movement, there we have the Communist centre. Where we find middle-class persons — sympathetic, ideological, or superior—attempting to raise the lower classes to their own high level and guide them in the paths of strictly constitutional reform to a goal which is the very

[1] *Manifesto of the Communist Party.*
[2] *Socialism.* London: T. C. and E. C. Jack.

negation of the constitution—there we have the descendants of the Socialists whom Marx and the Communists scorned. Of the two sections, it is the Communist which has won. It dominates the international situation at this day, and has impressed its masterful will on the whole party.

It is of the first importance to bear in mind this fact, that Marxian Socialism and revolutionary Communism are one and the same thing. Marx styled himself a Communist, and his doctrine Communism; and, from what Engels says, he never wished for a moment to call himself and his doctrine by any other name. Marx was too well acquainted with the revolutionary movement of Europe, and gifted with too much insight into the economic implications of his teaching, not to be perfectly well aware that he was acting as the great interpreter of a genuinely Communistic insurgence—that he was translating the crude proletarian Communism to which Engels refers into a definite creed for immediate political use, which, once established, must necessarily lead to more advanced and complete Communism. Therefore to deny that Socialism is a transitional form of Communism is to deny Marx, its prophet.

XXIII

The Anarchist Left

It has been stated that the constituent forces of the insurrectionary movement are three—the Right, the

Centre, and the Left. The Right and the Centre have been dealt with. The Left is Anarchism. Let it be distinctly noted that Anarchism—or, more correctly, Anarchist-Communism—is a form of Socialism. Mr. Kirkup writes in the history which has been quoted several times in this section, and is accepted by Socialists as an authoritative work: 'It is agreed that Anarchism as a form of Socialism originated with Proudhon.'[1] M. Naquet, M. Hamon, and other social-revolutionary writers hold similar views. The relation between Anarchist-Communism and Socialist-Communism is parallel with that which existed between the Anarchist Left and the Jacobin Centre in 1793. Bakunin stands to Marx as Hébert stood to Robespierre. Anarchists and Socialists have alternately quarrelled and co-operated, as Left and Centre in political parties always do; but both sections are representatives of the one proletarian insurrectionary movement, the main difference between them being that the men of the Left are irreconcilable, and want to go faster than the men of the Centre.

Not only have Anarchist-Communism and Socialist-Communism common affiliations through Proudhon, but they profess the same fundamental economic doctrines. Thus the Anarchists, like the Socialists, require that land, capital, and the means of produc-

[1] *History of Socialism*, p. 237. In *Chambers's Encyclopædia* the same author expresses himself more forcibly: 'Next to the Marx Socialism the most prominent form of Socialism is Anarchism.' The *Encyclopædic Dictionary* also recognises Anarchism as a phase of Socialism.

tion shall be the common property of society. To this end Anarchists and Socialists work, and must work, in common: whatever tends in this direction is an equal triumph for both branches of the party. For the rest, the Anarchists are more outspoken and inflexible in their views, and more daring in their conduct. They avow, as a necessary principle of the proletarian insurrectionary movement, the atheism which the Socialists prudently refrain from forcing to the fore along the line. They are militant anticlericals on all occasions. They represent, as the direct political heirs of the Hébertists, the principle of the sovereign Commune, which is accepted as the true Socialist administrative form by men of the Centre.[1] They demand the equality of the sexes and the abolition of marriage. In brief, they hold the pure Socialist-Communist doctrine, and enable us to realise in the present what Socialism means in the future. Anarchists not only confess, but proclaim the necessity of waging destructive warfare against society. The tactic of the Socialist-Communists is to await the opportunity for a great pitched battle: that of the Anarchists is to take advantage of all opportunities, great and small. This section of the movement increased rapidly between 1848 and 1871. Bakunin—a veritable Antichrist in his demoniac hatred of religion and remorseless antagonism to law and order—spread the

[1] 'Anarchists seem to agree in believing that the free Commune or free association will be the fundamental form of society; and there will be a free federation of free associations.'—*Chambers's Encyclopædia*, Art. 'Anarchism.'

teaching with indefatigable vigour. The strongest Anarchist branches were formed along the Mediterranean, in Southern France, Italy, and Spain; but the deadly doctrine spread with various success throughout Europe—England, Germany, and Russia being severally affected. The Anarchists are the sappers and bombardiers of the insurrectionary army. They go in advance of the Socialists of the Centre, and persistently endeavour to make breaches in the fabric of society by violent means.[1]

XXIV

England: Owenism and Chartism

Although the case of England is separately treated, it is advisable here—seeing that some Socialistic authors have unhistorically assumed that Socialism is essentially an Owenite creation—to glance at Socialism and the proletarian movement in England prior to 1848. The popular ferment in this country found expression through more than one channel. We have seen the Continental proletarian agitation in its earlier stages assuming two distinct phases—the

[1] 'Nothing can be clearer or more frank and comprehensive in its destructiveness than the Socialism of Bakunin. . . . The revolutionist, as the Catechism would recommend him to be, is a consecrated man, who will allow no private interests or feelings, and no scruples of religion, patriotism, or morality, to turn him aside from his mission. His work is universal and merciless destruction.'—Kirkup, *History of Socialism*, pp. 240, 242.

Utopian and the revolutionary. In England these phases were represented respectively by Owenism and Chartism. Both were rudimentary forms of the international movement; both have the unmistakable stigmata of Socialism. As for Owen, the 'Father of Socialism' as he is often styled, I am disposed to hold that too much has been made by Socialists and non-Socialists alike of his share in creating the present movement. He certainly popularised the name it bears, but his own agitation, like its Christian Socialist successor, never was a full and vigorous expression of the English proletarian insurgence. English Socialism as we know it to-day is in no sense an independent Owenite growth, but is simply a phase of the international movement. I do not propose to examine Owen's peculiar career in detail. Let it suffice to note the attributes of his doctrine. His Communism, in both senses of the term, was sufficiently proved by the numerous attempts made by Owen and the Owenites to set up small self-contained Communes on Communistic principles—at Orbiston, near Glasgow; at New Harmony, Indiana; at Palatine, County Clare; at Tytherly, Hampshire. All these experiments were failures. His internationalism was manifested in the foundation of the Association of All Classes of All Nations in 1835—an early, but not exclusively proletarian, International. The doctrine of 'surplus value' was held by the Owenites in descent from Ricardo; they attempted to counteract the appropriation by the issue of labour notes. Owen's secularist tendencies found expression at a large meet-

ing in London, when, in the words of Kirkup, 'he went out of his way to declare his hostility to all the recorded forms of religion.'[1] Unfortunately, too, his views on the emancipation of the female sex, like those of Enfantin, Fourier, and other apostles of the Socialist movement, involved the loosening of the marriage tie.

The remarkable feature of the Chartist movement is the fact that it kept pace, step by step, with the proletarian revolutionary movement of the Continent. In 1830 we find France ringing with the name of 'La Charte'—the political instrument which the populists of the epoch regarded as their panacea. A few years later we find the saving word 'Charter' resounding through the ranks of the English working-classes. In this we see the peculiar reaction of England and France on one another. Modern France, from the Revolution on, has taken from early England many of her political terms and forms, has given them a latter-day bias, and sent them spinning back across the Channel to create a new commotion. We have already noted that Engels acted as an informal intermediary between Feargus O'Connor, the Chartist leader, and Marx.[2] There was, in fact, a continual interchange of ideas and inspiration between the English Chartists and the revolutionaries of Paris. True to French revolutionary principles of 1793, the Chartist leaders called a conference in 1839, to which they

[1] *History of Socialism*, p. 66. London: A. and C. Black.

[2] 'Engels, in whom the working-class spirit of Chartism and the ideals of Owenism were blended, found in Marx a twin spirit.'—*Socialism*, by John Spargo. New York: Macmillans.

gave the ominous name of the National Convention.[1] Coming at a time when the proletarian movement was in the transitional stage between the politicism of the French Revolution and the economicism of later days, Chartism was political in form, but economic in foundation. Its propagandists, like the Owenites, taught the staple doctrine of Socialism—the theory of surplus value. Following Ricardo and Charles Hall they disseminated the economic falsity, still preached to-day from innumerable Socialist platforms, that the working man produces all the wealth, but is kept down to a mere subsistence wage while the surplus is taken from him by capitalists, priests, kings, and others.[2] The insurrectionary character of Chartism was abundantly in evidence. There were collisions between the mob and the military at Birmingham in 1839. There was an attempted insurrection at Newport, Monmouth. There was widespread rioting in the North and Midlands in 1842. In the year 1848 there was a very serious riot at Glasgow, the danger of the working-class situation being heightened by the fact that Ireland was on the brink of rebellion; and finally there was the great meeting on Kennington Common in April 1848—two months after the revolution at Paris. Fortunately, the Duke of Wellington, realising that one serious outbreak of insurrection at home is more

[1] The Robespierrist affiliations of some of the Chartist leaders were unmistakable. One of them, Bronterre O'Brien, wrote a volume glorifying Robespierre and the Class War. His object was to prove Robespierre a humane and 'godlike' man.

[2] 'Many of the remedies proposed were strongly Socialistic in tendency.'—*Chambers's Encylopædia*, article 'Chartism.'

menacing to a nation than the loss of ten pitched battles abroad, drew out an immense force of special constables and military, and overawed the proletarian revolutionaries. Even so, the situation was not without danger. The throwing of a few stones, or the zeal of a few special constables at the critical moment, might have led to a general conflict between the Chartists and the forces of order, in which event London would have witnessed such scenes of suppression under the Duke of Wellington as occurred a few weeks later at Paris.

Modern English historians, with that proud national faith in the impregnability of the citadel of the constitution which is so admirable if supported by adequate protective measures, and so futile and culpable if not, have regarded the failure of the Chartist agitation with a certain complacency, which the general condition of England and the Continent at that time did not warrant. The Duke of Wellington was a trustworthy judge of the danger; but there was still more impressive witness to the menace of the epoch of 1848. Queen Victoria, most sane, fearless, and clear-sighted of European monarchs, confided her views on the situation in a series of remarkable notes to the King of the Belgians and Lord John Russell. On the eve of the Chartist demonstration she writes: 'Thank God, I am particularly well and strong in every possible respect, which is a blessing in these awful, sad, heart-breaking times. From the first I heard all that passed, and my only thoughts and talk were Politics; but I never was calmer and quieter or less

nervous. Great events make me quiet and calm, and little trifles fidget me and irritate my nerves. But I feel grown old and serious, and the future is very dark.' A week after the demonstration: 'The state of Ireland is most alarming and most anxious; altogether there is so much inflammable matter all around us that it makes one tremble.' And most startling of all is the letter of July 11, 1848: 'Since the 24th February I feel an uncertainty in everything existing, which (uncertain as all human affairs must be) one never felt before. When one thinks of one's children, their education, their future—and prays for them—I always think and say to myself, "Let them grow up fit for whatever station they may be placed in—high or low." This one never thought of before, but I do always now. Altogether one's whole disposition is so changed—bores and trifles which one would have complained of bitterly a few months ago, one looks upon as good things and quite a blessing—provided one can *keep one's position in quiet.*'[1]

XXV

Germany: The Two Years of Lassalle

The recuperatory period which followed 1848 illustrates perfectly the standard procedure of the proletarian movement after passing through a vortex of

[1] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 1837-1861. Published by authority of His Majesty the King. 3 vols. (London: John Murray, vol. iii.)

revolution. The excesses of the insurrection produced the inevitable reaction. Society, regarding the outbreak as an isolated phenomenon, was content with its triumph. The proletarian movement seemed to have received a mortal blow—precisely as it had seemed after the execution of Babœuf in 1797, and as it was to seem after the repression of the Commune in 1871. The period of widespread violence ended in 1849, but the ferment continued for another couple of years—the insurrection holding itself in readiness to pierce any breach in the constitutional armour of Europe, but finding society too well fortified against it. The proletarian movement then followed the normal course and died down. There was a general subsidence of Communist and Socialist activity throughout Europe. In 1852-3 the French and English Socialist agitations were, to all appearance, moribund. Organisations, literature, speeches, incitements, fermentation—all seemed to have passed out of the range of practical politics. Yet after an interval of a few years we see this amazing movement undergoing its third renascence. Driven under the surface in France, the crater of the main eruption, it reappeared elsewhere in Europe; for it is one of the laws which govern its existence as an organic force, that it shifts from one centre where its resources are temporarily exhausted, to another where fresh funds of strength are apt for recruitment. Germany became the new pivot of the movement.

Lassalle, the political founder of the German Social Democratic movement, who had been connected with Marx and Engels in the 1848 ferment, came to the fore

in 1862, when he issued the Working Men's Programme, in which he dealt with the vocation of the manual workers as the creators and representatives of a new historical era. Lassalle's teaching was Robespierre's doctrine of the sovereign people, and St. Simon's conception of the poor as the paramount factor in society, cast in a new and scientific form adapted to the conditions of an industrial epoch. This perfect specimen of evolutionary doctrine was a valuable contribution to that historic-economic of Socialism which has given the proletarian movement the immense reserve of strength contained in a co-ordinated and dogmatic creed. Rodbertus, working in the same period with Lassalle, aided in the compilation of this body of doctrine—the Socialist 'treasure of the church.'

The Working Men's Programme was followed by an Open Letter, the publication of which marks an important step in the evolution of Socialism. In this document—itself the logical sequence to his previous thesis—Lassalle advocated the formation of an independent Labour party—a political organisation intended for economic purposes. His contribution to the practical solution of the social problem was the suggestion of productive associations of working men supported by State credit. Here is one more interesting case of doctrinal evolution. First: the public workshops of the Commune of 1793. Second: the plan of social workshops propounded by Blanc in 1840. Third: the national workshop scheme in 1848. Fourth: the productive associations projected

by Lassalle in 1864. The line of descent is unbroken. Lassalle sprang at once into prominence, obtained the favour of the militant working classes, and in 1864 founded the Universal German Working Men's Association. The extraordinary enthusiasm evoked by Lassalle's propaganda was a clear sign that the proletarian insurrectionary movement was running, under the surface, as strong as ever before. Lassalle's success was due to the fact that he was a born revolutionary, who came on the scene with a definite policy at a time when the insurgent movement was casting about for a new formula.[1] As a footnote to his career, it may be remarked that, like so many leaders in the Socialist movement, he made the best of both worlds; this champion of the suffering classes and denunciator of the predatory rich was a *viveur* of the first order. While the unfortunates out of whose woes and vanities he coined political capital were eating black bread, Lassalle, their social saviour, was living on the choicest luxuries and engaged in low intrigues with women. The one symmetrical feature in his career was the fact that he was shot to death by the betrothed lover of a woman on whom he was pressing his attentions.

If this study were being written in the terms of the old form of objective and biographical history, I should say that the influence of the German Socialists—Lassalle, Marx, Engels, and Rodbertus—on the proletarian movement was profound. But it has been

[1] 'He had, in fact, a revolutionary temperament. In Marx we see the same temperament.'—Kirkup, *History of Socialism*, p. 92.

shown that such leaders are only successful in so far as they are the coins of an existing but inarticulate or inchoate force. The conception of the leader of men as a hero who bends armies to his individual will, a sublime brute who says 'Do this!' to humanity—that conception which finds its most picturesque and most worthless expression in Carlyle—is false in fact. That there is a strong interaction between leader and followers is, of course, true; life necessarily acts and reacts on life. But the leader—as a leader—is a product of that very movement which he himself helps to evoke and extend. He is, as it were, the early fruit, which, being grafted out, produces a crop of more fruit like itself. It is worthy of remark that it is a matter of no consequence to what social class the proletarian leader may personally belong. The tendency of every political movement, as already stated, is to turn to its own purposes every leader or force which is useful to it, so long as that usefulness continues. Robespierre was a middle-class man; yet he was accepted as a leader because he was a perfect interpreter of the sentiments and aims of the proletarian Centre. Lassalle was a man about town, an intriguer, a voluptuary, an inferior rake—the very type of man, so hated by the proletariat, who seduces the daughters of the workers. Nothing of this mattered. He served the purposes of the proletarian movement, and that sufficed. There are leaders of the Socialist movement to-day whose personal character is little in accord with that of their working-class associations; who are comparatively rich, while their followers are poor; who

make money out of the movement, while poorer men spend all their surplus value upon it. There is one, at least, whose forthcoming treachery is a matter of open speculation among the rank and file of his own party. These things, however, are of no more account than the pursuits of Lassalle; so long as leaders serve and interpret, no matter from what class they come, no matter what ambitions they are pursuing, their assistance is accepted.

Marx and Lassalle were thus simply the expression of the German phase of the movement, as Robespierre and Blanc were of the French phase. All four leaders drew power from a common source—the wave of proletarian will—the forward sweep of the lower organisms instinctively striving to level or engulf the higher. Different countries in this European competition naturally seek and attain diverse expressions. Having done so, they proceed to react on one another by virtue of that law which operates to bring each part of the movement into conformity with the whole. To this broad evolution all the leading peoples of Europe have made some special contribution. France has given a set of principles and a spirit; Germany a scientific synthesis and a system. The Southern countries have supplied the Anarchist advance-guard. Austria has evolved a close union of Socialism and trade-unionism. Belgium has placed a great co-operative system at the service of Socialism. England, in addition to bestowing a name on the whole movement, has established a far-reaching system of municipal Socialism, and created an active school of Socialist

thought. Every branch of the movement draws sustenance and encouragement from the whole; each in turn acts as a feeder for all the others.

Lassalle's irruption was the re-inauguration of the Socialist agitation. He sprang on the scene in a blaze of democratic splendour; from beginning to end his career as founder of the German Social Democracy lasted only two years. It was a succession of triumphs. He captured the working-class battalions with his eloquence and policy, reviewed them as a Napoleon his army, and was greeted by them almost as Germanicus was welcomed by the Roman people, when they went out as far as the twentieth milestone to escort their adored general to the Capitol. Lassalle was the comet which foretold the convulsion of the Commune of 1871. It may yet be seen that his advent was an omen of a still vaster conflagration. Certain it is that the German proletariat leapt to life under the stimulus of his apostolate in a most astounding way—a way which told much as to the reality of the social revolutionary movement among them in the past, and still more as to its reality in the future.

XXVI

Marx: The Class War

1862 is a memorable year in the history of the proletarian movement. It marks the beginning of the third renascence of the Social Revolution. From this

point a general stir arose in the centres of the old activity, and soon the movement was rolling forward again as if it had received no more than a momentary check. The only change of importance was one of expansion and intensification. Europe was now more densely populated; her wealth offered a greater prize; the migration from the country to the towns favoured the propaganda of the Social Revolution; and the incessant improvements in communications were distinctly internationalising the whole proletariat from the Caucasus to the Atlantic.

What Lassalle was doing for Germany, the less dramatic but greater genius of Karl Marx attempted for the whole of Europe. Lassalle's propaganda was markedly national; the French movement was national in form, though international in implication—a national interpretation of a European tendency; the English movement was national, with strong international affiliations; the other Continental agitations were local growths, tempered by international conspiracy. The whole insurgence had been from the first, as we have seen, a purely European social phenomenon; but it was reserved for Marx to make it consciously so. His great conception—we cannot refuse it a certain grandeur, the grandeur of Lucifer—was that of one expansive European movement, transcending all national, local, and constitutional boundaries. This conception of Socialism or Communism was assuredly correct. *Quod ab initio: quod ab omnibus*—the maxim of the Church applies.

This astonishing man, unquestionably the greatest

intelligence to which the proletarian movement has given birth, presents one of the most remarkable studies in the whole range of social history. He is a striking exemplar of the power of a thought. Poor, dwelling in a back street, without official position or influence, he was more terrible to European governments than an army of invasion. He was the master-interpreter of the Social Revolution. He perceived before others, and more clearly than others, the extent, the duration, and the seriousness of the Communist revolt. Regarding that movement as an unmixed curse to Europe, a source of misery to the working-classes and a menace to civilisation itself, we are nevertheless forced to concede to Marx something of that wrathful admiration we might feel for a statesman of demoniac ability bending all his consummate energies to the destruction of our country. Marx contributed three things to the Socialist movement: the international system, the Marxian synthesis, and a criticism of Capital.

The synthesis is that compact body of doctrine which ranges round the Class War, or Class Struggle. The Class War is the very quintessence of Socialism: all other articles of the Socialist creed are either subordinate to it, expressions of it, or deductions from it. Why is Socialism successful as a political movement? Because it links an aspiration to an appetite. It appeals to the two most vital and universal of human passions: the passion of freedom, the passion of acquisition. The Class War enshrines both. It teaches that the working-classes are fighting to rid

themselves of a subtle but grinding form of servitude —wage-slavery. It promises as the reward of success not only that freedom, but a share in the seemingly illimitable wealth of the oppressor. All the economic tenets of Socialism, whether preached by pacifists or revolutionaries, range themselves under one of these two heads.

The Class War implies the Communisation of Land and Capital—that being the means by which the system of wage-slavery is to be abolished. It implies a vast and secular struggle to assert the Sovereignty of the People. It implies a continuous series of insurrectionary movements until that Sovereignty is finally established. And just as certainly, it implies an international social movement, transcending the political and geographical boundary-lines of European countries. This being the nature of Marx's conception, and this conception being in turn a true interpretation of the feeling of the great mass of the proletarian movement, it is easy to understand why Marx's views, once formed, never altered; and why the views of his followers show such remarkable constancy in a world of weathercocks and compromises. Between 1848 and 1862 Marx never turned his eyes from the Communist goal, never lost his confidence in the resurgence of the Communist or Socialist party. His strategy alone had changed. He now proceeded to carry into effect on a European scale the scheme which he had tested experimentally in the last insurrectionary period: the organisation of the international proletarian movement—the foundation of an Independent Labour Party of Europe.

In the ferment prior to 1848 a league of revolutionaries at Paris, principally German, had played as active a part in politics as the police would let them. This body, founded in 1836, bore successively the titles of 'League of the Just' and 'League of the Righteous'—two names with the true ring of the Babœufist period. Lastly, it was styled the Communist League. The motto of the association was 'All men are brothers,' and its members, having carried out the principle of fraternity after the manner of 1793 by taking part in a rising at Paris, fled to London in 1839. As the League progressed, it became more international, and Marx, the apostle of internationalism, came to an understanding with the leaders of the society, which he and Engels were asked to join. In 1847 Marx, then in Brussels engaged in founding a similar organisation, was invited by the League to take part in an international conference to be held in London. The conference was held, and the Marx-Engels *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was the outcome.[1] The association came to an end in 1852. This Communist League was the forerunner of the famous, or infamous, International.

[1] For an account of this passage in the history of the Communist-Socialist movement, see Mr. John Spargo's *Socialism*, pp. 53-54; an article on Engels by Mr. Belfort Bax in *Justice*, August 24, 1895; and Kirkup's *History of Socialism*, p. 172.

XXVII

The Third Renascence: the Policy of Involution

If any historical doubt had lingered to this point concerning the organically revolutionary character of the proletarian movement, 1862 would have dispelled it. If any question yet remained as to the inevitable fate of any working-class organisation brought into working contact with Socialism, 1862 would have answered it. There is bitter irony for the pacific Socialists, and an austere monition for Society, in the damning fact that the international peace movement formed the first stage in the development of the international revolutionary agitation.

The formation of the International Working Men's Association, which plays so sinister a part in the social history of the ensuing decade, dates from the holding of the great International Exhibition of London in 1862. In connection with that exhibition, there was a fraternisation of French and English workmen. It was conceived in the most benevolent spirit, and smiled on by authorities on either side of the Channel. 'Let the workmen meet and sow the seeds of international harmony,' was the sentiment of the hour. The workmen met: and the ultimate result of their fraternising was that international discord was discarded in favour of a joint campaign against Capitalism. National war was condemned: the class war took its place.

After some preliminary negotiations, the first meeting

of the International was held in London on September 28, 1864. Professor Beesley, Marx, and Mazzini were among the founders. It should be noted that the International was inaugurated, not as a Socialist, but as a Labour association. Its ostensible object was simply to further the interests of the working-men of Europe—peace being assumed to be the foremost of these interests. The situation called for a display of strategy, and provided an opportunity for the peculiar jesuitry of the Socialist element. The history of the movement shows that a Socialist always works for or towards Socialism: Marx, therefore, had no interest in the International save the prospect of using it as a foundation-stone for a new Socialist fabric. The problem he had to solve was how to convert a working-class movement, established under the ægis of two monarchs, into an organisation for the purposes of the Class War. In studying his procedure, it should be observed that Marx held that the one thing needful, as a first step towards creating a Socialist organisation in any part of Europe, was to start a separate and independent Labour party. Such a party being in existence, the men and the forces working for Socialism could be trusted to bring it step by step into the required path, and the non-Socialist members would be gradually committed, first to a Socialistic policy, next to a Socialist programme, and finally to the Socialist name. The International was thus the first important organisation to develop into a complete scheme the policy which has since been of such great service to the Socialist movement—the policy of involution.

The one drawback to this procedure, from the political and ethical standpoint, is that it inevitably entails an amount of dissimulation and simulation—from delicate deception to downright falsehood—which would appal the ordinary politician of passably scrupulous methods. But, as I have previously remarked, 'economy of truth' has been throughout a marked feature of one form of Socialist propagandism.[1] The original members of the International were not all Socialists; yet the interesting fact at once falls out that Marx, the leading Socialist, obtains the task of drawing up the constitution of the new association.

[1] Lest it should seem that this statement is too severe, I draw attention to an approbatory article written by Mr. Keir Hardie on the late Michael Davitt in the *Socialist Review* (London: Independent Labour Party, August 1908). Mr. Hardie first quotes from a speech made by Davitt in support of Mr. Will Thorne, the Socialist, at Canning Town in 1906. Davitt's words were: 'I am not a Socialist.' On this statement Mr. Hardie makes the following amazing comment: 'The speech in which these words occur was delivered on the eve of the General Election of 1906, and as part of the organised tour which Davitt undertook on behalf of Labour candidates. As I had the preliminary arrangements in connection with this tour to make with Mr. Davitt, I knew exactly what was in his mind. *He explained to me that he was a Socialist, but that to proclaim the fact too loudly would interfere with the prospects of our men being returned.* He desired above all else in British politics to see a strong Labour contingent in the House of Commons. . . . *His reference to Socialism at Canning Town was meant to win for Will Thorne the support of those Liberal voters who were not Socialists.*' Such a hopelessly non-moral statement of electioneering principles has not, I conceive, been made since the days of Walpole. I hesitate to believe that Davitt—a man for whom his political opponents always felt a certain pity and admiration—was a practised liar; but about Mr. Keir Hardie's practices it is impossible to doubt.

Mazzini was first asked to do so; but Mazzini's statutes were thrown aside as unsuitable. It was necessary for Marx, in devising the constitution, to avoid an uncompromising statement of Socialist principles; it was equally necessary for him to lay out the ground so that the association would develop without hindrance on Socialist lines, and could not develop on any others. He propounded the following high-sounding declaration:

> 'That all societies and individuals who adhere to it recognise truth, justice, and morality [1] as the rule of their conduct towards one another, and to all men without distinction of colour, faith, or nationality. No duties without rights: no rights without duties.'

The preamble to the constitution of the association was astutely drawn. It asserted the economic servitude of the workers to the owners of the instruments of labour, and announced as the object of the international working-class movement the emancipation of the toilers from this economic servitude. In the inaugural address the idea of emancipation was further expressed in the theory that wage-labour was destined to die out like slave-labour. In studiously moderate and virtuous phrases, in nowise calculated to alarm society, Marx carefully wrapped up the kernel of Socialism. But the inherited vices of the Socialist-Communist movement are not stifled by veiling them in terms of aspiration. In the melancholy words of

[1] Note the remarkable correspondence between this declaration and Alison's prediction, made in 1853, as cited on the title-page.

the able pro-Socialist historian, Mr. Kirkup, 'it was not long before the revolutionary Socialism which underlay the movement gained the upper hand.'[1]

Five annual conferences sufficed to bridge the interval between fraternal internationalism and insurrection. The first was held in London in 1865; the next at Geneva in 1866, when the eight-hours' day was approved; the third in Lausanne in 1867, when the congress expressed hostility to the principle of trade-unionism; the fourth in Brussels in 1868. At the Brussels congress advanced Socialist principles were openly professed. Resolutions were carried in favour of the nationalisation of land, mines, and the means of transport; and the appropriation by capital of rent, interest, and profit was repudiated. A 'solemn protest' was made against the war impending between France and Germany, and a general strike recommended as a means of opposition. The fifth conference was held at Basle in 1869. During these years the following of the International was increasing throughout Europe. The Socialist-Communists were strong in the centre and west, the Anarchist-Communists in the south and south-west. The members of the International carried on an active crusade among the working-classes in the capitals and industrial centres, where an oppressive proletarian spirit began to be manifest.

The procedure of the International is worthy of the closer study, because it has been adopted by the English Independent Labour Party. There are two

[1] *History of Socialism*, pp. 166, 167.

ways of working for Socialism. One is to preach its tenets publicly and manfully, despite the odium they entail, and to trust to education to make the people Socialists. The other is to go among the suspicious, hostile, or indifferent manual workers and profess a desire to co-operate with them in the cause of Labour —concealing behind the profession a deliberate intention to involve them, by gradual approaches, in Socialism. The co-operation consists in promoting measures or principles which, in the early stages, seem to be all that a working-man, a Liberal, and a Christian could desire. At this stage it is customary to praise the honesty of the workers to their faces, and to curse them for a set of dogged, opinionated fools behind their backs. As events serve, the workers are led on from one measure to another, until in the end they find themselves, if not Socialists, at least Socialistic. All, however, has been done in such order, and every measure seems such a natural advance on the preceding, that even opponents—for want of a coherent set of political principles—are entangled and committed. The one disadvantage about this procedure is that as the Socialist applies it to the non-Socialist, so the revolutionary Socialist applies it to the moderate Socialist. In the end the more thorough-paced and revolutionary men always attempt to take the lead. This fact was strikingly illustrated in the International, much to the mortification of Marx—who, a revolutionary among the moderates, was a moderate among the Anarchists.

As the fatal year 1870 drew near, the International

became more extreme. Followers of Proudhon the Anarchist, and of Blanqui the barricadist, who had led the insurrectionary movement against the Provisional Government in 1848, associated themselves with Marx in the organisation. Bakunin, the Anarchist leader, joined in 1869; and the International, now a revolutionary body, ominously chose Paris for its next rendezvous. The proposed congress was not held. The war foreseen duly broke out, and the Communists of Paris chose the moment when France was crushed by invasion, and without an army, to set up a proletarian insurrection, the most murderous and incompetent in history.

XXVIII

The Fourth Insurrection: the Commune

I do not propose to deal here with the well-worn subject of the Commune of 1871, except in so far as is necessary to establish its precise place in the Socialist-Communist movement. The share of the International in the insurrection, as Mr. Kirkup justly says, has been misunderstood. The association was currently accused at the time, as Marx admitted in the post-Commune manifesto written for the Council of the International,[1] of having occasioned the revolt. That was not quite the case; but a number of Internationals

[1] Dated London, May 30, 1871. The manifesto is reprinted in full as a supplement to Mr. Belfort Bax's *Short History of the Paris Commune* (London: Twentieth Century Press).

and other Socialists, including Blanqui, Assi, and Frankel, certainly took an active part in fomenting or leading the movement: Bakunin, too, had attempted to provoke a similar insurrection at Lyons. Lafargue, Marx's son-in-law, was a member of the International and also of the Commune. In the aforesaid manifesto the International accepts by implication the statement of an independent French writer that 'the greater part of the members of the Commune' and 'the members of the Central Committee' belonged to the association. Mr. Kirkup, while acknowledging the International's complicity after the fact, asserts that the society, as such—that is to say, in its corporate and official capacity—had no part in originating or conducting the Commune, though some French members joined the insurgents on their own responsibility. Mr. Bax observes that 'as the revolution proceeded, its Socialistic *telos*, implicit from the first, came more and more to the fore, till in two or three weeks it had completely absorbed the whole movement.'[1]

These several statements are in complete accord with the view of the Socialist-Communist movement already set forth in this section. It has been shown that the proletarian insurgence has two clearly marked features: a general tendency towards Communism, and a special tendency to the Commune as a political form. The revolt of 1871 combined both tendencies. The Socialists of the International and their numerous Socialistic colleagues in Paris represented the first force; the local insurrectionary politicians who called

[1] *Short History of the Paris Commune.*

the elections for the Commune represented the second. Behind both was the populace of Paris, ready as ever to cry 'Vive la Commune!' and 'Vive le Communisme!' and rightly regarding the Commune and Communism (or Socialism) as two facets of the one thing. Failure to understand the relationship of these two factors has led some English annalists into error. Thus the Communist and Communal movement at Paris was a local growth—a form of the European insurgence—already existing and powerful when the Socialists of the International came on the scene. The Internationals found its Communism still somewhat 'crude and instinctive,' as in 1848, and they were busily engaged in indoctrinating it in the precise formulas of Socialism when the insurrection broke out. The International, by itself, could not have occasioned the revolt; but the members certainly urged it forward, and there can be no doubt that Marx and his colleagues in London were kept well informed of the progress of events. The Commune, under the influence of the Internationals, naturally became more and more Socialistic in the short term of its existence.

The Communist movement at Paris was in direct line of descent from the Commune of 1793. From the Red Republicanism of the Reign of Terror down, it had retained its original power over the proletariat: and naturally so, because it was their own. The pikes and red caps of 1793; the pikes of 1830; the red flag unsuccessfully raised in 1848; the red flag temporarily triumphant in 1871—these are the symbols at once of the continuity and evolution of the movement. Social-

ism, in aiding the transition, had not changed the essence. As some English Socialists to-day will be disconcerted to learn that they are the unconscious mouthpieces of revolution, so some of the foreign Socialists in 1871 were surprised at the force of the old Communist idea. With the masses of the Parisian populace, however, the faith of 1793 was still the faith of 1871. They held the memory of 'quatre-vingt-treize' sacred: they hold it so to this day. From the first, the tradition asserted itself. The Commune of 1791-4 had come into existence after the fall of the Bastille without national warrant; the Commune of 1871 followed the same course, constituent elections being held on no other authority than that of an unofficial Central Committee of the National Guard. Once established, the new Commune instinctively adopted the ways of the old. A contemporary observer from the side of the Assembly at Versailles writes: 'A l'une de nos séances du soir, les maires élus par la ville insurgée se présentèrent en nombre, leurs écharpes en sautoir, apportant les conditions de la Commune. C'était nous ramener aux scènes de la Convention, recevant à sa barre les députations révolutionnaires.'[1]

The key to the insurrectionary situation was held

[1] *Souvenirs Politiques*, 1871-1877, Vicomte de Meaux (Paris, 1905: Plon-Nourrit). The Vicomte de Meaux, a close friend of the priest Ducoudray, one of the murdered hostages, gives a remarkable picture of the inextinguishable fury and vengeful pride of the vanquished Communists. Entering Paris directly after the taking of the last barricades, he writes: 'En arrivant à la gare Montparnasse, nous croisâmes un convoi de prisonniers, et je ne saurais oublier les regards haineux et hautains qu'ils nous lancèrent, comme s'ils étaient sûrs de leur revanche.

by the National Guard. This body, which was mainly a middle-class force in the reigns of Charles X. and Louis Philippe, had undergone a transformation, and was recruited from the ranks of the proletarians in 1871.[1] It followed, in short, precisely the same course as the National Guard of 1793, when the respectable citizens were ousted and the paid insurrectionary working-classes of Paris took their places. The National Guards were the Armed Sections of 1871. As in 1793, they supplied themselves with guns: these were cast in Paris and paid for out of the Communists' pockets. History naturally repeated itself in the consequences. Ill-disciplined, under elective and incompetent officers, and infected with Socialism, the Guards were seething with mutiny during the siege. When the Germans entered Paris, the civic soldiery were permitted to retain their chassepots and side-arms. Once again the weakness and folly of the national authority had provided the insurrection with weapons.

The various forces intermingled in the insurrection can be clearly traced in the light of history. First came the municipal Communists and Red Republicans, the heirs of 1793—the old Guard of Communism. Next, the new school of international Socialist-Communists and Anarchist-Communists—the Young Guard.

[1] 'The agitation continued within the ranks of the National Guard, which, unlike the National Guard in the time of Louis Philippe, now included the mass of the working-class, and was the most dangerous enemy, instead of the support, of Government.'—Fyffe, *Modern Europe*, vol. iii.

Thirdly, a miscellaneous collection of republicans of Paris, freemasons and small personalities, drawn into the movement in the mistaken belief that the power which held the capital must dominate France.[1] There were also a certain number of revolutionaries and barricadists from all points of Europe—Poles, Garibaldians, and others. All these elements combined to form a single Progressive Party of insurrection. The official manifesto of the Commune, printed in its official journal, April 20, 1871, demanded, first, absolute and sovereign autonomy, with the control of finances and taxation, education, the magistracy, the police, and the National Guard; next, the right to introduce any economic reforms demanded by the people. The Socialist-Communists, true to their adopted strategy of involution, did not demand a full avowal of their principles as a preamble to the insurrection, convinced that they must have their way in the end if the Commune prevailed. Among the Socialistic measures adopted or proposed in the brief existence of the Commune were the confiscation of Church property, the issue of free food and free clothing to children, the confiscation of closed factories and workshops, and

[1] 'The extreme or Red Republicans had twice during the siege broken out in insurrection. The ideas lying at the basis of this insurrection were not simply the old revolutionary ideas of political equality, but also those more modern ideas of social equality which fanatical Socialists, aiming at the abolition of religion, marriage, inheritance, and individual property, had propagated through the International Working-Men's Association. With these were joined certain extreme notions of local self-government or the independence of Communes.'—Duruy's *History of France*, 'The German War and the Third Republic.'

the suppression of pawnshops. Churches were closed to worship, and secular education was proclaimed.

The Commune was thus an epitome of the proletarian movement, and nothing shows more clearly how inescapable are the atavistic tendencies of the Social Revolution than the remarkable fidelity with which the Commune reproduced them. In principle; in administrative form; in its proletarian constitution; in its insurgent origin; in its election by a minority of citizens, in the absence of the majority from the polls; in its megalomania; in its grasping at the power of the police, the finances, and the armed forces; in its measures and palliatives—its secularism, confiscation, and pauperising policy: in all that it was and what it implied, the Commune of 1871 was the direct heir of the Commune of 1793. Its foundation is celebrated to-day throughout Europe as one of the great events in the Socialist year.

The Commune was true to history in the manner of its fall, which was no accidental circumstance, but a necessary consequence of the interaction of the forces which composed it. A hundred and twenty years of insurrectionary history have demonstrated that the elements of the proletarian movement can only work together in opposition to the established power. So soon as the insurrection is successful, it begins to break up. In all modern history there is not one example to the contrary. Cohesion was impossible among the groups of the Commune. In spite of the unparalleled opportunity open to its leaders—fortified Paris in their power, the bulk of the National Army

dispersed and absent, the National Assembly at Versailles unable to protect itself effectively against a *coup de main*—they omitted even to guard their own fortifications, and wasted invaluable time in protestations of virtuous intentions towards the world and in wrangling among themselves. The administration fell at once into the grossest disorder, and the remedy advocated—still in memory of 1793—was a Committee of Public Safety. A minority opposed, but the municipal Communists had their way, and the whole body drifted rapidly into anarchy. The end of the Commune came amid such insanity, murder, and conflagration as had never been seen since the siege of Jerusalem by Titus. The Tuileries, the Hôtel de Ville, the Council of State and Legion of Honour buildings went up in flames; and three parties of hostages were massacred in cold blood. Thus the Reign of Terror was repeated under Socialist tutelage in 1871, and Europe was enabled to judge how much more terrible than any conflict between nations were the battles of the modern class war.

XXIX

1873: The Spanish Communist Insurrection

The insurrection ended, the International issued its manifesto. Marx and his comrades had solemnly denounced war in 1869; they glorified insurrection and approved of the slaying of unarmed prisoners in 1871. The contrast between the pacific protestations

and insurrectionary tendencies of Socialism was again demonstrated for the instruction of those who had forgotten the lesson of 1848. The inconsistency was patent in its most marked form during the reign of the Commune itself; for, like Louis Blanc, the father of modern Socialist methods, the Communal Councillors continued to emit pacific utterances until the very outbreak of hostilities.[1]

After 1871 the two parties in the International—the Socialist-Communist led by Marx and the Anarchist-Communist under Bakunin—observed the traditions of the movement by quarrelling among themselves. The Marxian influence proved the stronger, and at the Hague Congress of 1872 the Revolutionary Centre expelled the Anarchist Left. The loss of the Anarchist section, however, robbed the International of vitality, as the execution of the Hébertists had led to the downfall of the Robespierrists; and the association inaugurated under fraternal auspices came to an end after the Geneva conference of 1873.

The revolt of the Commune of Paris was not the only sanguinary insurrection at this period. Spain, whose dynastic troubles had occasioned the Franco-German war and opened the way for the Commune, became the scene of the next outbreak; in which Castelar, face to face with the extreme decentralists, played a similarly ineffective part to that of Lamartine in the revolution of 1848. The Spanish rising of

[1] 'The stupid Committee and Commune, hoping to the last that peace would be preserved, took no further steps for the eventuality of war.'—*Short History of the Commune*, p. 25.

1873-4 was dominated by precisely the same ideas as the French revolt of two years earlier.[1] Politically, it was a struggle to introduce the excessive and almost insane decentralisation of the Commune—the form of government most suited to the development of Socialism.[2] Economically, it was a proletarian expropriation movement strangled at birth. In Spain, however, the Communal unit was the Canton: a sovereign state within the State, having power over finance, taxation, education, religion, the police, and the armed forces. The State itself was to be reconstituted as a free federation of free Cantons—a Federal Republic.[3] One of the earliest outbreaks was at Alcoy, where a strike instigated by the local branch of the International inaugurated a reign of insurrection and massacre. The fire of revolt spread quickly from town to town, and soon Malaga, Seville, Granada, Cadiz, Barcelona, and Cartagena were a prey to the delirium of the Commune. The agents of Bakunin inflamed the populace; and, as before in Paris, decentralists,

[1] An interesting account of the insurrection will be found in Professor E. H. Strobel's *Spanish Revolution*, 1868-1875 (Boston: Small Maynard, 1898). Mr. Strobel's work, although it fails to distinguish clearly the Communist character of the revolt and its place in the evolution of the proletarian movement, is one of the most promising historic monographs which have come from America in late years.

[2] 'The Commune was a vindication of the political form which is necessary for the development of Socialism.'—Kirkup, *History of Socialism*, p. 189.

[3] 'The Intransigente or uncompromising faction, corresponding to the French Communists, loudly demanded the institution of the Federal Republic.'—*Times Annual Summaries*, 1873.

Socialists, Anarchist-Communists, and barricadists vied with one another in creating a state of anarchy. At Cartagena the insurgents seized the fleet, and General Contreras sent impudent communications to the central Government headed 'From the President of the Canton of Murcia to the President of the Canton of Madrid.' The captured ships flew the Socialist red flag, and a decree was issued confiscating inherited property.[1] For months Cartagena was in the power of the insurrection, and when, after a prolonged bombardment by the Government forces, the revolt was at length suppressed, the insurgents escaped to Algeria, leaving behind them a city in ruins.

XXX

Germany: The Menace of Bebel: Anti-Socialist Laws

The course of the proletarian movement in the entire epoch, 1848-1878, was normal throughout. We have seen that the European insurrection of 1848 was followed by a general lull: the whole Socialist movement subsided, and so far as contemporary European statesmen were aware, was dead between 1852 and 1862. Between 1862 and 1870 the process of recuperation, led by Marx in London and Lassalle in Germany, went forward rapidly, and the storm-vortex of 1871-1874 followed as birth follows gestation. It is important to note, however, that the vortex did not

[1] Strobel, p. 227.

subside immediately after the Spanish Communist rising: it swerved to the north-east and hovered above Germany, where the general disturbance of the political and social fabric, which followed the war, set up certain openings for an irruption of the proletarian forces. The course of events throughout the whole historic period here under survey shows that any kind of national disorganisation—even the disorganisation of reconstruction—is bound to expose the rear or flank of society in some measure to the Social Revolution in countries where the proletarian movement is an organised and active force. In the case of a war just concluded between two nations, the menace of a proletarian advance is necessarily far greater to the defeated than to the victorious country: but modern war is so exhausting, and the after-disturbance produced is so great, that even a triumphant power may be seriously threatened. In the case of England the crowning victory of Waterloo was immediately followed by a fierce movement of proletarian discontent; and Germany, issuing successful and seemingly united from the great war of 1870, was straightway confronted with a new and real danger—an insurgence of the remarkable movement which was evoked by Lassalle, and has since proved itself to be the strongest of all the branches of the Social Revolution—that great movement which is the prime qualifying factor in German Imperial strength.

The rebels against society were not tamed by the repression of the two Socialist-Communist risings of France and Spain. On the contrary, an active, defiant,

expectant spirit was abroad. Mass meetings of working-men under Socialist leading were held throughout Germany, even while the struggle of the Commune was in progress, and there was a widespread ferment of proletarian revolutionary feeling which threatened a repetition in Northern Europe of the fury of the South and West. Town after town sent up the danger-signal: Berlin and Dresden, both which had been the scene of insurrectional outbreaks in 1848-9, gave out manifestoes of sympathy with the army of Socialists and municipal Communists fighting at Paris. Hanover, one of the centres of disturbance in 1830, did the same. In Hamburg, Leipzig, Baden, and, in short, most of the regions where insurrectionary troubles had been witnessed in the past two storm-vortices, the revolutionaries raised their heads and voices. This was the moment chosen by the Socialist leader, Bebel, to make a threatening speech in the Reichstag, which is remarkable as a corroboration of all that has been said here as to the insurrectionary and European character of the movement. 'Be assured,' he said, 'that the whole of the European proletariat, and all who have a feeling for freedom and independence in their hearts, have their eyes fixed on Paris. If Paris is crushed for the present, I would remind you that *the struggle in Paris is only an affair of outposts, and the main conflict in Europe is before us. Before many decades pass, the battle-cry of the Paris proletariat*—"War to the palace, peace to the cottage, death to want and idleness!"—*will be the battle-cry of the whole European proletariat.*'

These words made a profound impression on Bismarck, who, as a subsequent speech of his in the Reichstag shows, was struck, as by a flash of light, with a sudden impression of the solidarity and menace of the proletariat movement in France and Germany. Bismarck, the junker of genius, was too Prussian a politician to conceive of a vast organic force welling up through the generations in every country, and surging through the whole community of Europe with the blind, selfish force of the Will in Schopenhauer's conception of the conflict between Will and Idea. But he had watched over defeated Paris, like Scipio over Carthage, and had seen the class war break out on the ruins of the Empire. His sense of political actualities prepared him for a struggle with the social insurrection in Germany.

The coming of the storm was portended by a rapid increase in Socialist votes at the German elections. In 1871 the Socialist poll was 102,000. In 1874 it had trebled, and amounted to nearly 340,000 votes. In 1874 it stood at nearly 500,000. The two German Socialist parties—the Marxians under Bebel and the Lassalleans under Hasenclever—combined in the name of the Socialistic Working-Men's Party of Germany. The united party then formulated a programme which ominously demanded, as the basis of the State: (*a*) direct legislation by the people; (*b*) the abolition of the regular army and its replacement by a people's army; (*c*) the abolition of all exceptional laws and the administration of justice by the people. At the same time, the Commune was recognised as the ad-

ministrative unit within the State. These demands were a definite formulation of the doctrine of the sovereign people. Their underlying principles were, in fact, precisely those of the Jacobin-Communist party in the time of Robespierre. What was the Commune of 1793 but the very embodiment of 'direct legislation by the people'? What were the Armed Sections but a 'people's army'? What were the revolutionary committees of the Sections but the instruments of 'administration of justice by the people'? What, moreover, were the Commune and National Guard of 1871 but just such institutions as the Socialist Working-Men's Party of Germany were now demanding as the basis of the State?

Thus the German Socialists, after the sanguinary risings of 1871 and 1873-4, calmly asked to be put in possession of the means of insurrection. Bismarck continued to watch them. At the general election of 1877 they obtained nearly 500,000 votes, so that the party had almost quintupled in six years. By this time the intensity of the Socialist revolutionary ferment was such that in 1878 two fanatics, Hödel and Nobiling, successively attempted the assassination of the Emperor. Bismarck judged that the critical moment had come, and applied to the Reichstag for exceptional laws. They were refused. Bismarck resolutely appealed to the country and was rewarded with a large majority. The Socialist vote, at the same time, fell from 493,000 to 437,000. The election was a decisive proof, not only that society was ready to defend itself energetically against the revolution-

aries, but that the working-class supporters of the Socialist leaders were themselves to be shaken by a bold attack.

The German Anti-Socialist laws of 1878 have been represented as a complete failure: Socialist writers, in particular, have been at great pains to prove their futility. It has been pointed out that during their continuance the Socialist vote rose; and it is assumed that this fact alone supports the case against them. Several objections can be fairly lodged against Bismarck's special procedure; but there is a distinction to be drawn between the fact and the method, and, as a strictly historical judgment, it must be recorded that the German Anti-Socialist laws were perfectly successful in achieving their main object. They prevented an insurrection.

Bismarck, as we have seen, could not have had a clear conspectus of the insurrectionary proletarian movement of Europe. He had to depend on his experience in 1848 and 1871, the reports of his police, and his instinct as a statesman. His experience, reports, and instinct all warned him that there was a danger of the excited working-classes breaking away from the authority of the State. In the light of history his apprehension must be pronounced abundantly justified. His errors of method in the Anti-Socialist campaign, which continued until 1890, appear to be three. In the first place, he maintained his repressive measures much too long. In the next, they were too widely distributed, and caused too much inconvenience to innocent persons and the misled rank

and file. Nothing in politics is more terrible than to offend an honest and loyal citizen. Lastly, he too patently attempted to cut the ground from beneath the feet of his enemies by annexing their palliatives, and thereby confirmed the Socialists in the belief that their principles were right.

A scientific knowledge of the proletarian movement would have taught Bismarck that the insurrectionary vortices, which appear at intervals of about a generation, are limited in their duration. This is perfectly natural: no nation can remain perennially at the highest pitch of social intensity—whether intensity of war, of production, of insurrection, or of intellectual brilliance—just as no individual can work at fever pitch, or continue in a state of passion, beyond a certain time. Every period of European insurrection must have a beginning and an end; and the maximum time between the two extremes can be approximately calculated. Thus from the fall of the Bastille in 1789 to the execution of Babœuf in 1797 was eight years. From the rising of 1846 to the death of the Communist League in 1852 was six years. From the insurrection of the Commune in 1871 to the passage of the Anti-Socialist laws in 1878 was seven years. When Bismarck applied coercion, the German insurrectionary movement was at touch-and-go, and the vortex was nearing the end of its duration, as events were soon to prove. A minor state of siege was proclaimed at Berlin and the more dangerous towns: the police descended in force on the Socialists, broke up their organisation, shut the doors of their meeting-places,

suppressed their newspapers, and expelled the leaders. By these means they struck dismay into the hearts of the agitators, many of whom they forced to go back to work for a living. The procedure was so successful that at the next general election—that of 1881—the Socialist vote sank to 312,000. At this point Bismarck could safely have stopped: the limit of the storm-vortex in Germany had been passed, and, if left alone, the decline would have continued as a natural process. Bismarck, however, continued his repressive action for a number of years, and successfully persecuted his adversaries into prosperity. In 1884 the German Socialist vote mounted again, and has continued to mount ever since. The campaign shows that coercion against Socialism is an irresistible weapon, provided it is applied with knowledge and insight at a critical period; but that it is not only useless, but profitable to Socialism, if it is unreasonably protracted after the special danger is past.

XXXI

The Fourth Recuperation

While these events were going forward in Germany, there was a general subsidence of Socialist activity throughout Europe, which lasted for several years. In 1881, however, a number of former members of the Commune, including Allemand, Lafargue, and Vaillant, were amnestied, and straightway resumed the work of Socialist agitation. In the following year, the Euro-

pean movement began to show vigorous signs of revival. The Anarchists, whose position in the vanguard of the Social Revolution has been described, led the renascence with one of those dramatic outbursts of violence which are intended to have the double effect of terrifying the capitalist classes and stimulating the revolutionaries. Lyons was made the centre of an Anarchist propaganda which bore fruit at Montceau-les-Mines, where a new and terrible weapon of destruction was brought on the scene against society.[1] The use of dynamite and the violent ferment among the miners led the Government to emulate the resolution of Bismarck in a descent on the revolutionaries. A batch of sixty-six Anarchists, including Prince Kropotkine, were arrested, and their trial at Lyons in 1883 may be taken as definitely marking the resurgence of the insurrectionary movement. The accused men signed a declaration of opinion demanding the socialisation of capital, and equality for all, and proclaiming the right of incessant insurrection on behalf of the wage-slaves—opinions which were almost equally to the profit of Socialism and Anarchism.

The renascence of British Socialism began about the same time, under the inspiration of Henry George's land nationalisation agitation, the teaching of Marx, and the Irish agrarian movement. The first English Socialist organisation—the Social Democratic Party—dates from this period: its leaders, Hyndman, William Morris, and Belfort Bax, were ardent revolutionaries

[1] 'At Montceau-les-Mines dynamite was first used in France as a political argument.'—Bodley, *France*; 'The Socialist Group.'

in touch with Continental Socialism, and the party—formerly known as a federation—has remained revolutionary to this day. One after another the European proletariats fell in with the rising movement. In 1883 there was an insurrection at Badajoz. In 1884 the political tide turned in favour of the German Socialists, their vote at the general election showing a marked increase. In the same year the English Fabian Society began its insidious propaganda of permeation. In 1887 France returned nineteen Socialist deputies to the Chamber. At the municipal elections of 1889 the Progressive Party, the first English Socialistic organisation to acquire administrative power, swept London. In 1890 the German Socialist vote went up with a bound from 763,000 to 1,427,000. In 1892 a separate Socialist Party was formed in Italy: 1893 was the birth-year of the Independent Labour Party in England. Belgium returned thirty-two Socialist deputies with 320,000 votes in 1894, and the Dutch Social Democratic Party was founded in the same year. In 1897 the Austro-Hungarian Socialist Party polled 750,000 votes, and the year 1900 saw the formation of the British Labour Party.

During these years the Socialist movement made contact at many points with workmen's organisations of various kinds—co-operative societies, trade-unions, Liberal and Radical groups, and the like. The invariable result has been to Socialise Labour wherever the two forces have met. There has been a constant stream of recruits from the Liberal-Labour branches of European parties to Socialism: there has been no

counterbalancing stream from Socialism to Liberalism. When the Bebelites and the Lassalleans united to form the Socialistic Working-Men's Party of Germany, the Lassalleans brought with them an inheritance of German national ideas: when merged in the combined party, the Lassalleans became internationalists like the Marxians. In England and France Socialism has come into contact and competition with the Radical parties: the same result has followed—the Socialisation of the Radicals. There is an important group of Radical-Socialists in France to-day, and there is a growing group of Radical-Socialists in Great Britain. But the Socialists in either case have abated not a jot of their principles or ultimate demands.

Throughout this last recuperative period, while gathering strength for the next great contest with society, the Socialists have practised the policy of involution with remarkable success. With a social policy as self-centred as the foreign policy of Germany, they have only co-operated with the Liberals and Radicals of Europe, to involve them in Socialistic situations. When working in coalition with other bodies throughout Europe—Liberal, Labour, and Municipal—they have conceded nothing, foregone nothing, abandoned nothing. It is clear from the political history of the last twenty years, that no 'give and take' arrangement with them is possible. Socialists use all colleagues as confederates, and have no notion of political compromise except that of compromising their political allies. Thus in every case where they have co-operated with other groups in the names of

Labour and Progress, the policy of the combined party has been Socialistic.

In nothing has the action of Socialism during this period been more successful, or more significant, than in local government. As we have seen, the administrative principle special to Socialism is that of extreme decentralisation or local autonomy. It was through the local autonomy of the Paris Commune that the proletarian movement obtained its effective start in life: it has never forgotten its early lesson, and has been faithful to the principle of local democracy ever since. The Commune—the free, autonomous local unit with semi-sovereign powers—is still its favoured political form. It is demanded for Germany as much as for France and Spain; and as we shall note later, is just as keenly desired in England. Throughout the movement the Commune is the stepping-stone of the insurrection to State power.

The demand for the establishment of the Commune is therefore one of the definite signs of the revolutionary bent of the movement; for no strong national government would ever concede plenary powers of peace and war, police and finance, to a municipality or urban district. Hence we see that, as a matter of fact, the free Commune never comes into being save as the result of an insurrection: as witness Paris in 1791 and 1871, Spain in 1873. Failing the Communal system the Socialists have made great use of existing municipal units: their activity in this direction has been one of the chief secrets of their success. In France the Socialists control many of the industrial

Communes, and in some cases have heaped up intolerable burdens of local expenditure. The Danish Socialists have also concentrated much of their attention on the municipalities, with the result that they secured a majority on the municipal council of Copenhagen. In Italy and Spain municipal activity has been one of the marked features of the Socialist movement. But in no country in Europe has municipal Socialism made such disastrous strides as in England. It has been a favourite tactic with Socialists in all these countries to secure a firm foothold in the municipalities when the current of feeling has been running strong against them, or away from them, in national politics.

So, strengthening itself at the polls, in the municipalities, and among the labour organisations, and sweeping forward with a force which has found no real impediment among the working-classes, the proletarian movement approached its inevitable climacteric. As in previous recuperative stages, Socialistic leaders vowed upon their honour that the old, evil habit of insurrection had been finally eradicated from the movement. Some of these leaders were as sincere, and all were as correct, as Louis Blanc on the eve of '48. There were writers who made the assertion lighly,[1]

[1] Thus Mr. Bernard Shaw writes in the Fabian handbook, *Socialism and Individualism* (London: Fifield, 1908): 'Since 1891 Socialism all over Europe has become definitely constitutional and parliamentary.' In this flagrantly inaccurate statement Mr. Shaw commits three characteristic errors: he speaks without authority; he ignores the lessons of historic continuity; and he overlooks the historic facts of the past few years. But it is always

and there were followers who accepted it implicitly. It is to the interest of a large section of Socialists that the pacific character of the movement should be proclaimed, and credited. Whatever may be the levity, the ambition, or the culpability of Socialist leaders, there can be no question that many working-men have been led into the movement in the belief that its plan of social reconstruction is peaceful and practicable. As Lavallette profoundly says: 'Men are seduced, in the first instance, by plausible theories. Their heated imaginations represent them as beneficial and easy of execution. They advance unconsciously from errors to faults, and from faults to crimes, until their sensibility is destroyed by the spectacle of guilt, and the most savage atrocities are dignified by the name of

best to answer the enemy out of the enemy's mouth, and I will content myself with opposing to Mr. Shaw's irresponsible assertion the recent statement of a continental author who is more competent to speak as to the character of 'Socialism all over Europe' than Mr. Shaw. M. Alfred Naquet, in the preface to *Socialisme et Anarchisme* (Paris: Sansot, 1905), concludes an eloquent appeal to Socialists and Anarchists to drop their internal differences and work together harmoniously for their common cause, with the words: 'Que ces moyens soient d'ordre législataire dans les moments où les circonstances ne se prêtent pas aux mouvements révolutionnaires; ou que de préférence ils prennent le caractère de révolution toutes les fois que les circonstances s'y prêtent, peu importe! Tous sont bons à des degrés divers; tous à leur heure doivent être employés. . . . Sous ce signe tu vaincras, dirons-nous à notre tour aux précurseurs qui préparent la société future. Et ce signe, c'est celui de la Révolution sans distinction d'écoles et sans épithète.' The doctrine that Socialism is a revolutionary movement, but that when revolution is not convenient Socialists may content themselves with parliamentary reform, is here stated with refreshing directness.

state policy.' The power of Socialist leaders to win converts depends largely on their ability to clothe a vicious appeal in the terminology of virtue. The aspiration is in the forefront of the movement, but the appetite is the driving force from behind.

But, despite the humanitarian maxims and the pacific protestations of the Socialists, there came signs in plenty that the proletarian movement of Europe was not, and could not be, divested of its insurrectionary character. The Spanish-American War of 1898, and the Cuban campaign which preceded it, threw exhausted Spain into a protracted anarchical ferment. Señor Canovas del Castillo was assassinated by an Anarchist. There was a long succession of plots, bomb outrages, riots and strikes, in all of which the Anarchist-Communists — still the most active and daring revolutionaries in the Peninsula—incited and excited the populace as they had done under Bakunin in 1873-4. A minor state of siege was proclaimed in various districts, and in July 1898 the constitutional guarantees were suspended, to guard the whole country against an outbreak of civil war. As in the case of Bismarck's coercive campaign, this decisive step was successful. Revolution was forestalled, but the ferment has continued. Socialists and Red Republicans have co-operated in creating disorder, and Spanish revotionaries now want nothing but an opportunity, which a sudden constitutional crisis or outbreak of disaffection in the army would give them.

XXXII

The Grand Climacteric

Far worse troubles than those of Spain were to come. The recuperating forces of the proletarian movement, having been in operation for the allotted period, had amassed a greater store of combustible material than ever before, and action and reaction being equal, it was a matter of scientific surety that a proportionate explosion would follow. The only uncertainty was the point where the insurrectionary vortex would appear. Its course might be diverted from this country or that, but somewhere in Europe it must necessarily burst: as a cyclone may either pass through a given area, with devastating effect, or swerve aside and destroy the next. Such had been the spread of Socialism within the last two decades, that, henceforward, no part of Europe was immune from the irruptions of the Social Revolution—though every country secretly flattered itself that it had some special reason for escaping the scourge: France, because it was, politically, too advanced; Russia, because it was not advanced enough; Germany, because of its all-powerful army; England, because of its free parliamentary institutions. Of these reasons, the only one which is of valid force for an insurrectionary movement with vast economic designs is the all-powerful army; and that, as will appear, is subject to serious qualifications in fact.

The grand climacteric of the proletarian movement

arrived in 1905, when the Russian people presented the first scene in the fifth act of the drama of European insurrection.

The Russian revolutionary disorders have been imperfectly understood in England. During the progress of the movement from strike to strike, from mutiny to mutiny, from massacre to massacre, the public mind has been dazzled and impressed, but not enlightened. The transmutations of the Duma, the rise of anti-Semitism, the seemingly aimless fury of the pogroms, the action of the peasantry, and the barbarities of the counter-revolution, have set up a series of confused conceptions which have not been improved by the appeals and outcries of partisans at home. A careful study reveals the revolution as the latest stage of the class war which has raged for the past hundred and twenty years. In addition to the Anarchists, there were three important Socialist organisations in Russia when the strife broke out—the Social Democratic Party, the Social Revolutionary Party, and the Bund. The rapid increase of industrialism in the north-west region of Russia during the last two decades greatly favoured the growth of Socialism. Russian delegates attended the Socialist-Anarchist congress held in London in 1896, and thereafter the growth of the movement was steady. The Social Democrats held that the economic conditions of Russia were not ripe for revolt, and many of them continued to advocate peaceful evolution until the eve of the insurrection. The Social Revolutionists, on the contrary—who founded a separate organisation in 1901, the year after the

formation of the British Labour Party—favoured drastic action. The position of the Bund in the insurrection was peculiar, and in some respects crucial. It consisted of Russian and Polish Jews, and was particularly strong in the south and west. Jews, be it noted, have exercised a considerable influence on the Socialist movement, in which their internationalism and ardent, contentious, revolutionary temperament are distinctly reflected. The Socialists—the Red Terror—began the conflict, and necessarily evoked the Black Terror or Counter-Revolution, which, maddened by the treason of the insurrection, committed atrocious excesses similar to those of the Royalist reaction during the French Revolution. The same situation and the same barbarity were witnessed in 1871, in the conflict between the Versaillese troops and the citizen militia of the Commune.

The insurrection was fomented by secret Socialist-Labour societies aided by comrades operating from London.[1] A private revolutionary press was set up here, and its publications were smuggled into Russia by political refugees. When Russia was shamed and smarting under her defeat at the hands of the Japanese, the Socialist revolutionaries—internationals, men with-

[1] See *The Revolution in the Baltic Provinces of Russia*, by An Active Member. Edited by J. Ramsay Macdonald (London, 1907: Independent Labour Party). It is remarkable that the editor, who is regarded in this country as a pacific Socialist, calls down a fervent 'Godspeed' on the Russian insurrection, and writes of 'the heroism of our Russian comrades.' In this we see the instinctive tendency of the Socialist to call every rebel against society a hero.

out a country—basely but characteristically took the opportunity to revolt, and harass the already severely tried national government. Emissaries circulated among the soldiers and sailors, and stirred up disaffection in the ranks. When the country was seething through and through with revolutionary feeling, the Socialists organised labour agitations, 'peaceful processions' with red flags, and other demonstrations of power—these being the standard means adopted by Socialists to set up a state of pressure and friction in the early stages of insurrection. In January 1905 the incident of the Champs de Mars was repeated with a fidelity which was in itself proof that the class war, in extending its area, had in nowise changed its character. It is instructive to note that when the hour of insurrection arrived, the Social Democrats made an easy transition from evolutionary to revolutionary methods. A manifesto was issued stating that 'the Congress advises the workers ever to be prepared for an armed uprising, parrying each violent act of the Government with an armed fist.'[1] By such subterfuges the pacifists of the proletarian movement are wont to reconcile past protestations with present acts: the excuse for rebellion is always 'Self-defence!'

The rising took three distinct forms: an industrial movement, an agrarian movement, and a Jewish movement. The industrials rose in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and the cluster of industrial towns which the protective tariff had caused to spring up in West Russia. The agrarian movement was a half-blind,

[1] *Revolution in the Baltic Provinces*, p. 17.

half-conscious ferment which spread like an infection among the peasantry, whose inarticulate and ferocious desire for the land was the very type of an appetite incarnate in an insurrection. It followed the course of the French provincial Revolution, and was marked by agrarian outrages, the sacking and burning of the mansions of the nobles, the imprisonment of landlords, the appropriation of land, and the expulsion of the civil authorities. In both the industrial and agrarian movements, incitement came from the Socialists.[1] Thus in town and country alike a vast expropriatary insurrection was set in motion. It had its own chiefs and committees, and in some districts created an insurgent administration. A revolutionary army was brought into being, after the style of the Armed Sections,[2] and plans were made for a general armed rising. In the provinces the insurrection had for a time remarkable success, but in the towns—except Moscow, Ekaterinoslav, and a few other places—the rising failed.[3] At Moscow the revolt was suppressed only after a terrible struggle.

[1] 'Sometimes the peasants marched from the church, *bearing a red banner*, to the landlord to put before him certain demands,' p. 29.—'There is no doubt that this trade-union movement was under the direct influence of the social democracy,' p. 37.—*Revolution in the Baltic Provinces.*

[2] 'The workers' militia (armed members of the Social Democratic Party) quickly put an end to these bourgeois agitations.—*Ibid.*, p. 37. This insurrectionary militia arrested thirty-five nobles in Stockmanshof and other districts, and held them as hostages. The first condition of their release was that the whole of the Baltic nobility and the military in their command should deliver up their arms to the Socialist party.—*Ibid.*, p. 61.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

It was in the South, at Odessa, that the Jewish Socialist rising, organised by the Bund, pursued its special and terrible career. The Odessa movement was headstrong, insolent, anti-national, and ill-conceived. The rich Jewish merchants paid for a distribution of arms among several thousands of the younger men, who formed into mobs, paraded the streets, with the red flag at their head, insulted the national standard, mutilated the Tsar's portrait, and fired mad fusillades from their revolvers. In the height of their delirium they proclaimed the South Russian Republic.[1] The Municipal Council of Odessa imitated the procedure of the Commune of 1793. Amid the excitement of the insurgence, wrought up to fever pitch by the Tsar's proclamation of a constitution, the Council formed itself into a Committee of Public Safety, and emitted a mass of decrees in the presence of delegations from the Bund and other revolutionary organisations. Their first aim was to cripple the military power, and they accordingly demanded the withdrawal of the regular forces. Next, they decreed the disarmament of the police. Next, the establishment of a citizen militia—that right arm of the Social Revolution throughout Europe.[2] These insensate proceedings brought the counter-revolution on their heads. The Bundists had thrown the ball of revolution as Socialists: it rebounded on them as Jews.

It is needless to regret, and useless to condemn, the career of the Russian Counter-Revolution. When the

[1] *The Times*, November 22, 1905.
[2] *Daily Express*, November 1, 1905.

Black Terror held sway it made the Red Terror pay three times over for every drop of blood shed in the insurrection. The bestial ferocity which has been displayed on both sides is in itself a proof of the standing menace of the European Social Revolution. While human nature remains what the Russian horror has again shown it to be, how presumptuous it is to hold that Socialism can reconstruct society on new foundations. While men are men, and opportunities for conflict abound, how absurd it is to proclaim that the Social Revolution can and will achieve its vast aims—reaching into every corner of human life, habit, and practice—by pacific means. The Russian insurrection is the rebuke of human nature to Socialism. It exhibited the Social Revolution once again as powerful to destroy, powerless in construction.

XXXIII

At the Eleventh Hour

The Russian Revolution brings us to our own time. We have seen the proletarian movement sweeping forward five times in succession, and always ending in a shattering European explosion followed by a rapid decline. The outbreak of revolution in Russia was quite normal. What deductions must we make as to the present and future? Is the danger past, or is the worst to come?

The whole of the evidence points to approaching disaster. We need no scientific synthesis to assure

us that we are living in a time of tension. All Europe feels the strain. The Russian trouble is barely over: even now the fires of revolt flare up from time to time in different districts, and Socialists and Anarchists continue their inflammatory propaganda in the hope of kindling a new conflagration. There is suppressed excitement among all the peoples of Europe, and the capitals are paraded by ill-favoured mobs. In Paris the Confédération Générale du Travail threatens the general strike—the ominous general strike which is always advocated on the eve of revolution. In Berlin there have been riots of unemployed, and a conflict between the mob and the troops. The Peninsula seethes with revolt every few months: the Spanish king's life has been attempted, the Portuguese king's taken. In England we have had since 1906 a succession of unemployed demonstrations, strikes, and other troubles, in all which the Socialists have been to the fore. Socialism is spreading in Finland, Belgium, and Austria. Never, in all its history, has it made so much noise as in the past three years. Never has its organisation been so vast and complete, or its confidence in victory so high.

Therefore it is evident that the Socialist movement has not yet reached the point of decline. The Russian struggle has rather energised than exhausted it. It is true that at the last German general election the strength of the Socialists in the Reichstag was reduced from 81 members to 43, owing to a combination of parties against the Socialist candidates; but at the same time the total Socialist vote rose from

3,000,000 to 3,250,000. In the same way we find that, at the British municipal elections of November 1908, the Socialist candidates met with losses; but the total Socialist vote rose from 180,000 to 227,000. These elections are symptomatic of the conditions throughout Europe. As election after election takes place, the opposition forms into line against the Socialists, who are baffled, but not overthrown.

In these circumstances, one of two things must shortly happen. Either the Socialist movement must press forward and win the right to socialise the means of production—whether by slow or sudden processes—or it must dash itself to pieces against an invincible movement of resistance. The Socialists are not in the same position as any other political party. They are fighting for the recognition of a principle. Once that principle is conceded, the rest is a matter of minor importance. The only answer possible from the Anti-Socialist forces of Europe is a direct negative. Assuming that this negative is given, and the constitutional forces of Europe refuse to recognise the principle of the communisation of the means of production, what will be the result? Will seven million men give up their dream without a struggle? Will the ardent and daring spirits, who have spent the last twenty years in constructing an international organisation for a definite purpose, consent to see that organisation broken to pieces against the solid wall of private property?

It is impossible. Human nature has not changed since 1848. Man is as prone to war now as he has been in the past; and wherever two great forces

separated by irreconcilable differences are brought into contact, they must and will fight. But the Bernsteins, the Shaws, and the Vandervaldes profess peace? True —but the Hyndmans, the Bebels, and the Londons profess war. Can the pacific intentions of some Socialists prevent the revolutionary consequences of other Socialists' lifelong teaching? Will the drawing-room methods of the Fabians affect the situation when the rough proletariat of the streets gets into motion?

Again, if preaching peace could ensure peace, how came any of the insurrections of the past? Were they not all effected under cover of pacific protestations? Violent outbreaks, followed by stages of recuperation, have punctuated the course of European history for nearly a hundred and twenty years. There was insurrection in 1791: again in 1830: again in 1848: again in 1871: and again in 1905. In every interval reform politicians have preached peace, where peace there was none. De Rémusart was astonished by the revolt of 1830. 'It was not a revolution we desired,' he said, 'it was a civic resistance we contemplated.'[1] Louis Blanc 'turned men's thoughts from revolution' on the eve of the rising of 1848. The Communal Councillors of Paris, sitting in armed rebellion against the national government, spoke of peace to the very hour of the outbreak of 1871. Spanish statesmen followed their example prior to the insurrection of 1873. Russian Social Democrats continued to believe in pacific evolution towards

[1] Lamartine, *History of the Restoration*, vol. iv. book 49, chap. iii. London: Vizetelly, 1851.

Socialism until the catastrophe came in 1905. Revolutionaries are always preparing, but never prepared.

In these conditions, no serious student of European political history is justified in attaching any value to the pacific protestations of Socialist leaders. The writer who earnestly assures us that 'since 1891 the Socialist movement all over Europe has been constitutional and parliamentary' not only is inaccurate in fact, but misunderstands the very nature of political evolution. No Socialist leader, no group of leaders, can suppress the attributes of the movement by act of will. They have succeeded to a revolutionary inheritance: and we are bound to conclude that, when the opportune moment arrives, their following will declare war against Society precisely as in the past, and the leaders, whether reformist or revolutionary, will be swept into the revolution, or swept aside.

Against these contentions Parliamentary Socialists point to the Revisionist movement on the Continent in favour of progress towards Socialism by constitutional and legislative action. The Revisionist movement appears to be misunderstood, not only by its own partisans, but by some leading non-Socialists, such as M. Yves Guyot, who assume that what is new in Socialism must necessarily prevail. Considered objectively, the Revisionist movement is, in fact, a symptom of grave danger. It is a sign of restlessness and dissatisfaction: a warning that the rank and file in the movement are growing impatient for results. The Revisionists, yielding to the stir, endeavour to obtain

PERIODICITY OF EUROPEAN INSURRECTION

CONTINENT		ENGLAND
Paris Commune. Spain, Italy, Holland, and Switzerland revolutionised. Babœuf's Conspiracy.	**1793**	England on the verge of insurrection. Severe repressive measures under Pitt.
France, Revolution of July. Revolt in Poland. Revolt in Germany. Revolt in Belgium.	**1830**	Riots and outrages. Reform Bill, **1832**.
		Chartist Convention. Riots and outrages.
Revolt in Galicia. France, Revolution. Revolt in Italy. Rising in Germany.	**1848**	Chartist Rising, **1848**.
		Hyde Park railings, **1866**. Reform Bill, **1867**.
Paris Commune. Spanish Communist Rising, **1873-4**. German Anti-Socialist Laws, **1878**.	**1871**	Trade Union outrages, **1866-7**.
Russian Revolt. ?—— ?——	**1905-9**	Rise of Socialism. ——?

NOTE.—A remarkable correspondence is revealed by a study of the dates of Continental and English social movements. The storm-periods were at the rate of one in each generation, and are invariably marked on the Continent by a cluster of risings, extending over a period of a few years. Each of these storm-periods is a time of menace and violence for England. The chart clearly indicates one, two, or more risings on the Continent within the next year or two, and an outbreak of lesser violence in Great Britain.

PLATE IV.

something 'on account' for their supporters. The Revolutionists, more logical, persist in preaching, first, The Social Revolution; next, The Millennium.

The differences between Revisionists and Revolutionists would be of little importance at any other time. But now, coming when the wave of Socialism is at its height, they have deep significance. They amount to a competition between the rival schools for the favour of the workers. 'Support us, and we will get something for you at once.'—'Support *us*, and we will give you the whole Social Revolution.' In the circumstances, there is no consolation in the knowledge that one-third of the German Socialists are Revisionists. In the year 1909 it is more important to remember that two-thirds are still for Revolution.

What becomes of the Revisionist principle—the system of Socialism by instalments—in the face of determined opposition from the Anti-Socialist majority to Socialism by any means whatever? The Anti-Socialists of Europe meet both Revisionists and Revolutionists with an absolute *non possumus*. Ultimately, therefore, Revisionists must either abandon their Socialism, or go back to the Revolutionary creed. In either event, it is clear that Revisionism offers no hope of peace. The error of the Revisionists is in not perceiving that nothing will satisfy Anti-Socialists but the destruction of the Socialist movement as a whole.

XXXIV

The Social Revolution in Sight

Socialism is now a European power. The Class War has become a fact. The forces of Society and those of Socialism are drawn up in opposition like armies of observation on either side of a frontier. Society has the advantage of numbers: Socialism of solidarity. Desertions from one side to the other are continual, but nine-tenths are from Society to Socialism. Society relies chiefly on discipline to maintain authority over its troops. Socialism offers them as spoils the property of their own officers. The fatal weakness of Society in opposition to Socialism is its division into nationalities and parties. While constitutional parties contend one with another, Socialism recruits its strength. When nationalities quarrel, Socialism declares war.

If we trace the history of the insurrectional movement back to the explosion of 1791, we find that in every instance the weakness of nations and governments has laid open the way to social revolution. When France was in a state of political disorganisation, the finances rotten, and the royal authority feeble, the Commune of Paris sprang into spontaneous existence. When Charles X. and the Constitutionalists were at variance, the proletarians of Paris rose in insurrection. The overthrow of Louis Philippe in 1848 was a political revolt; the Communists of Paris seized the occasion for a social insurrection. When France was under

the heel of the invader, the Commune of 1871 was born. Spain, rent by dynastic troubles, supplied the necessary political conditions for the Communal rising of 1873. Russia, defeated in the war with Japan, became straightway the scene of proletarian revolt in 1905. National disaster is everywhere the signal for social revolution.

The reason for the comparative quiescence of Socialism in the chief countries of Western Europe in recent years is now evident: no great war, no national catastrophe, has left the flank of Society exposed to its attack. History, which is valueless unless it enables us to obtain from the closed door of the Past the key to the gate of the Future, not only warrants but enforces the conclusion that the next great European war, or the next dynastic or political catastrophe, will be followed by social insurrection. When the rising comes, in the natural course of historical evolution, it may be expected to be more far-reaching and sanguinary than any of the social revolts of the nineteenth century.

One great question yet remains. Since an outbreak of Social Revolution appears to be inevitable, when and where may it be anticipated? In considering the question of time, it is instructive to note the periodicity of insurrection in the past. Between the downfall of Robespierre in 1794 and the revolt against Charles X. there was a lapse of thirty-six years. From that point to 1848, eighteen years. From 1848 to the Communal insurrections of 1871-3, twenty-three years. From 1873 to 1905, nearly thirty-two

years. In the last two storm-periods of 1848 and 1871-3—that is to say, under modern conditions as to travel and communication—insurrections came in groups or clusters. From these dates it would appear that we are now in the vortex of a storm-period; and judging the situation from a purely scientific point of view, without relation to our knowledge of the actual political condition of Europe, we should expect within the near future one or more insurrections as complementary to the recent Russian revolt.

Periodicity alone would be an unsafe index; history cannot be reduced to an exact science. But the whole course of evolution followed by the proletarian insurrectionary movement is our assurance that other outbreaks must occur—that, indeed, they must come again and again, with increasing violence, until one of the two antagonistic forces capitulates to the other. Society, though even yet hardly conscious of its peril, is engaged in a life and death struggle with a new order.

Germany, France, Austria, and England are the countries chiefly threatened. The German army and the French navy are alike rotten with Socialism. The series of explosions which have occurred on French warships have been traced to Socialist influence; and the probability of the next storm bursting in France is increased by the character of Parisian Socialism, which is insurrectionary to the core.[1] It is impossible

[1] In support of the historic view taken of Socialism in this volume as merely the economic expression of the insurrectionary movement, I may quote the passages: 'The Socialist democracy of

to describe to those who are not familiar with the life of the French capital, the farrago of revolutionary ideas — Communistic, Socialistic, Anarchistic and Atheistic—now fermenting in the minds of the people of Paris. Such a medley of sense and insanity—half-shrewd, half-deliquescent—was never known before: and Paris, in this matter, is the microcosm of Europe.

Austria-Hungary is threatened. In both kingdoms of the Empire there is a strong Socialist party, whose following will assuredly turn to account any dynastic troubles to which the death of the Emperor may give rise. The position of England is, in some respects, the most anxious of all. If pressure of social conditions alone sufficed to produce riotous and revolutionary outbreaks, serious trouble might be expected here, for never was misery more sordid and intolerable than English misery to-day. Distress is at its worst, the home defence forces are disorganised, and Mr. Haldane has thrown open the ranks of the army to the unemployed, unmindful of the history of the National Workshops and the Commune. The mutinous disturbances at Portsmouth, which followed the candidature of a Socialist, have served as a warning that England is not in the least immune from the troubles that afflict the Continent; and the recollection of the Trafalgar Square disturbances of 1887, together

Paris is willing to throw to the winds every article in its programme for the sake of procuring a revolution, without reflection as to its ultimate results. . . . The attitude of the Socialists in Parliament and the language of their press does not dispel the idea that revolutionary disorder, and not social reform, is the end of the party.'—*France*: 'The Socialist Group,' pp. 641-642.

with the knowledge of the seditious propaganda of the Social Democratic Party among the forces of the Crown, and the memory of the recent violence at Belfast, may well shake the confidence of patriotic people in the internal security of this country.

The position of Germany is both critical and representative. It is not without reason that the Socialist following is stronger in the German Empire than in France, for since Socialism entered on its quasi-scientific phase Germany has become the social archetype of Europe. It is in Germany that the next storm-vortex will most probably make its appearance; and Bebel, whose menacing speech in the epoch of the Commune produced so great an effect on Bismarck, has uttered a second threat not less impressive than the first. Speaking at Jena in 1905, he foreshadowed a Socialist insurrection in Germany.

'The struggle in Russia chills the marrows of our rulers,' he said. 'They have a deadly fear that the fire may cross the border. They say to themselves, if that is possible in Russia where there is no organisation and the proletariat is comparatively small, what may happen in Germany where we have politically enlightened masses and an organised proletariat?'

Bebel's words were not an empty threat. He defiantly predicted that, in the event of the army being called out to suppress revolt, whole regiments would be found to be composed of Socialists; and that, should the Reserves be called to the colours, there would be whole brigades of Socialists. It is not difficult to imagine how this passage would have

enlightened Bismarck, and what anxiety it must have caused the German Emperor. It rings with the menace of revolution, like the Communist Manifesto of 1847.

XXXV

Armageddon

Henceforward, nothing is wanting but opportunity. The armies of Europe—the last protection of Society against the proletarian movement — are uncertain instruments. Somewhere in the line of defence a weak spot will be found, and when that happens, the tide of revolution will probably burst in with the dramatic suddenness of the 1830 rising. Already we have seen the insurrectionary movement among the Eastern peoples fetching a compass by way of Persia and India, and entering Europe through Turkey. It would be contrary to all experience to suppose that the great transition will end here.

If the historical view taken in this book is correct; if the proletarian movement of Europe is, in fact, one and the same in all countries and during the whole of the past century and a quarter; if Socialism is, as I have submitted, the economic expression of that great upheaval, it follows that Europe is now on the verge of one of the greatest social struggles in its history.

That is the firm conviction I have formed, and I state

it, though with great reluctance, in the public interest, for the nation which is best prepared will suffer least in the storm. I am aware that, in doing so, I am putting history to a new, though a perfectly legitimate, use. History has always been regarded as the safest of guides in the present:—I have essayed to use it as an index to the near future. There is—although the assumption that it is possible to foretell the future may startle the sedate — in reality nothing more abnormal in this theory of historic prediction based on evolution than there would be in predicting, shortly after the start of the Derby, that the winning horse would pass the post within so many seconds; or in forecasting that three rival trains for the North, leaving London at eight in the evening, would arrive in Edinburgh about four in the morning. For the movements of great social forces are slow and sure: their course is discernible; their objective is known; and human nature is known also. Great international movements, being baffled, seek a vent in revolution, as a hunger-bitten mob, raiding a bakery and finding no bread, hangs the baker. Unless all past experience is to count for nothing, the Socialist movement must be baffled; and, being baffled, it will then have recourse to open insurrection.

The definite conclusions about coming events which appear to be amply justified are these: 1. That a social revolution will break out in Europe within the next two or three years; 2. That this revolution will be more extensive in area and terrible in character than any revolt for two generations past; 3. That the

revolutionaries will win great temporary successes and will succeed in establishing local governments; 4. That the rebellion will be suppressed after much bloodshed, after which the Social Revolutionary movement as a whole will die out for the greater part of a generation. The probabilities are that the insurrection will begin in Germany and spread to other countries, including England. In all the countries where it appears there will be street rioting and violent conflicts between the troops and the people.

These conclusions are warranted by the evolution and composition of the Communist-Socialist movement; the increase of industrial population; the poverty, political power, and education of the European proletariat; the organised strength of Socialism as an international party 7,000,000 strong; the vulnerability of the industrial and financial machinery of modern society; and the great improvements in communications, which have conferred undue advantages on the forces of insurrection.

That any human effort can prevent the European revolution as a whole, I do not believe; but that we can avert the worst of it from England by means of vigorous action is probable. The vigorous action would include a campaign of propaganda and education among the people; the arrest of seditious Socialist leaders; and the adoption of a national policy of State Action on Anti-Socialist lines.

It may be urged that this sombre picture of the immediate future is a forecast of Armageddon. So be it: but an Armageddon which will not be the end of

all—a vast conflict between the forces of order and the Communisation movement from which society will retire to build up, with renewed energy and hope, the civilisation which is possible in a world of almost miraculous invention.

THE ENGLISH MOVEMENT

I

The Socialist Machine

No political organisation ever devised in this country, since the birth of the English party system, has been worthy of comparison with that of the Socialists in thoroughness, flexibility, and success. This organisation forms an order by itself. It differs from the older parties not only in method but in kind. It has violated every accepted rule of political warfare, and has prospered by doing so. Like the French armies of the Revolution, it has set out to fight as a ragged host, scantily provided with trained officers, and still more scantily with funds. Nevertheless, opposed to the well-paid and methodical legions of the two great State parties, it has made light of their numbers, attacked them with astonishing spirit and cunning, taken them in detail, won unexpected victories, and supplied itself from the enemy's resources. Still like the French armies which ravaged the countries they swore to liberate, we shall see that it has been animated by a dual motive. Freedom is on its lips, but the passion for possession is at its heart.

The Socialist party in this country is an organism without a central administration, without an acknowledged head, without an agreed constitution. It is composed of discordant elements, which doom it to inevitable and violent dissolution on the very morrow of political triumph. It is a party of opposition and disintegration. Despite all this, it is a real party, gifted with a unity of purpose in attack, which is far more effectual than mere unity of command. It stands unrivalled in the land as a political machine. It has a discipline of its own, and exerts an astonishing sway over its following. It is infused with a spirit which overcomes all difficulties and survives all the dissensions of the opposition stage. Perfectly adapted—in its combination of dictatorial rule and democratic local autonomy—to the work it has to perform, and conformable to many varieties of human nature, it multiplies its effect sixfold by its wonderful and incessant activity.

Whether regarded as a study in the psychology of the populace, or as a lesson in political machine-craft, the story of the moulding of this remarkable movement forms one of the most engrossing passages in the epic of English history. In the space of twenty-five years the Socialist party has arisen from the humblest of origins to a formidable position in the State. It has made converts in every rank of society, from the Court circle to the workhouse. It has secured a vast reserve of power and ample funds by its alliances with Labour. It has forced its way into Parliament. The men who lately stood in the mud at street corners and

harangued knots of dubious labourers, now give their mandates to Government from their seats in the Commons, and confidently predict their own advent to ministerial power. From the Socialist branch meeting-rooms in sordid bye-streets instructions and resolutions now go to the delegates at Westminster, as remonstrances and exhortations went from the Jacobin clubs to the men of the Mountain in 1793.

The Socialist party is firmly established in the municipal system of the country. It has involved that system so thoroughly in its policy, that the local administrations now fear either to advance or recede. It has created a new social literature, and evolved a new political creed. It has brought a new race of politicians on the scene. Last, and most dangerous of all its achievements, it has spread abroad a mass of vague and plausible ideas on social betterment which have confused the public mind, obscured the issue, and given cover to the Social Revolution.

II

The Paradox

Much as we may condemn the principles and fear the advance of the party which, in accomplishing all this, has completely changed the face of English politics, we cannot refuse a tribute to the energy and ingenuity of its procedure. Unscrupulous as the methods of the Socialists undoubtedly are, limited as

the range of their mental vision may be, their cleverness is beyond question, and their devotion is undeniable. For the older parties, with their stereotyped and somewhat lifeless methods, the chronicle of the Socialist advance is a lesson in intensity. The Liberal and Conservative party organisations make a profuse display of energy at elections, and relapse into a state of coma between them. The Socialists, on the other hand, are always proselytising, always striking, always working. They are incessantly preparing for the great and decisive struggle which is to settle the fate of their movement, and of society.

There is something in the burning zeal of the Socialists, their astute attempts to capture the Labour organisations, the ruthlessness with which they treat all working-class leaders who will not work with them, the ingenuity of their efforts to involve Liberals and municipals in their policy, the persistence of their advance towards their appointed goal, which recalls the deadly earnestness of the politics of the French Revolution. They act with a mixture of extreme caution and great boldness, as if they were playing their heads against ours.

Thus, were energy and earnestness alone a title to political success and public admiration, the Socialists would stand above all other parties in their claims on our plaudits and purses. But the character of the Socialist movement is a paradox throughout. We see in it a mixture of good qualities and false principles. The cleverness to which we have referred is not educated talent, but sublimated cunning. The devotion

is marred by self-seeking and a fierce class egotism. A strange contrast is presented by the high level of political knowledge among the followers and the low level of statesmanship among the leaders.

We find the Socialists brilliant in action and able in detail, but hopelessly at fault in fundamentals. In this, of course, however inconsistent, they are not singular, since history is replete with instances of sects which have supported false tenets with the utmost conviction, courage, and subtlety. The Socialist leaders are typical monosophs—ideologues with aptitudes highly developed in one direction. They are men of inferior intellect, endowed with superior energy and concentration, and we cannot but admire the first-rate use they have made of second-rate opportunities with third-rate abilities. To sum up the whole paradox, the Socialist movement is mentally defective, but temperamentally great.

The paradox permeates the movement in every direction. In the rank and file we find the honest working man balanced by the unscrupulous fanatic. In following the history of the movement we shall see every good quality offset by a vice, every humane proposal countered by a dangerous incitement, every beneficent movement used as a screen to hide a revolutionary tendency from the public observation. We shall note a perennial contrast between the profession and the act; the exploitation of the workers in the name of a movement against exploitation; a policy of peace abroad and war at home. Contradiction is the keynote of British Socialism.

III

The Warning

To show that this movement is a real and serious menace to the Constitution is the object of the present criticism. I shall endeavour, in a rapid study, to tell what relation it bears to the Continental movement; whence it sprang; how it has won and holds its present political estate; what it aims to do; how its organisation was evolved; what power it has already attained; and what resources remain for it to tap. In following its short but dramatic history, we shall see its strategy revealed, and learn how it has established three strong political bases—in the Trade Unions, the Municipalities, and Parliament—to any one of which it can retire when assailed in the others; and from all three of which it can now be dislodged only by a most strenuous national effort.

The story of English Socialism should serve as a warning to statesmen not to despise the poverty of a proletarian expropriation movement in its sordid beginnings—not to flatter it when these beginnings are solidifying into a political instrument—not to fear it, and bow to its mandates, when this instrument has wedged its point into Parliament. It should serve, moreover, as a lesson to the public and the press not to ignore a movement, however undistinguished its leaders or distasteful its policy, which is capturing the hearts of the democracy. Since the Anti-Socialist campaign began in the summer of 1906, no one,

assuredly, could charge the public with ignoring Socialism; but for some years before the General Election of 1906 the Socialist-Labour movement was running strongly in the North—and who gave heed? Meetings of working men three to five thousand strong were held in the industrial towns, and Socialist speeches were cheered to the echo, but the reports of these pioneer gatherings rarely extended beyond a few perfunctory lines, pushed into obscure corners of the press. 1906 would not have come as such a shock to the country, if the progress of the movement had been watched at that stage.

There is still some danger to be feared from the national habit of ignoring the inconvenient. Even now, when the Socialist-Labour vote in the North challenges comparison with either the Liberal or the Unionist, as will be shown later, the resolute Anti-Socialist is sometimes urged not to 'advertise' Socialism, and Cabinet Ministers display surprising ignorance of its strength in Parliament and its import to the State.

Haziness of political thought, and the fear to face vital issues—the two mental vices which mark inferior political epochs, and have brought so many parties to disaster—are directly responsible for much of the success which has attended the Socialist propaganda in England. A certain order of constitutional politician—in the face of open, emphatic, and repeated assertions of revolutionary and expropriatary aims from the more honest type of Socialist—persists in hoping for an accommodation between Socialism

and Constitutionalism. This weakness is cleverly played upon by the more astute type of Socialist, whose policy it is to set in circulation a mass of general ideas bordering at once on Socialism and Constitutionalism. Such is the first step in the policy of involution.

The time has gone by for this petty playing with Socialism. The history of the movement, as about to be narrated here, will afford ample evidence that the issue between Constitutionalism and Socialism is vital, that the encounter between them must be fought to its conclusion, and that the result must be mortal to one or the other. It will be seen that the Socialist movement has been successful precisely because it is revolutionary. It is not the vague idea of some innocuous advance on the present constitutional principle, but the promise of a sweeping change in the conditions of life and industry, which makes men ready to 'live and die for Socialism.' The very success of the propaganda points to a deep-set and far-reaching combination of motives; and again, as in the Continental movement, we find that combination to be an aspiration linked with an appetite.

If the British movement were an isolated phenomenon; if it had no relation whatever to the great European proletarian upheaval whose passage from insurrection to insurrection has been traced; if the political history of this country contained no previous records of parallel movements from which to judge its probable course and tendency; if its watchwords, promises, and threats of confiscation were nothing but

the disconnected outpourings of a set of aimless demagogues—it would still be a cause for anxiety and a source of danger in the actual condition of the country. But, being an organised force, a local form of the European uprising, and a descendant of previous English movements of insurrectionary character; having an extreme policy of its own, which is expounded by numerous leaders; and evincing in itself a marked revolutionary tendency; it must constitute a serious menace to the peace and prosperity of the State—else history is meaningless, and politics a mere congress of the insane.

IV

The Local Form of the Movement

In accordance with the law which governs political evolution, as already stated,[1] the British branch of the international movement has taken a special form, adapted to its environment and the times. English Socialism is all things to all men. It is a scale ranging from sheer Anarchism at one end to mild Liberal-Socialism at the other. Between these two extremes are numerous gradations, each of which is held by its exponents to be the true form, destined to survive and absorb all the others. Socialists can thus claim and disclaim anything, a prerogative of which they make the fullest use. Father Adderley, who denounces

[1] From Insurrection to Insurrection, c. iii.

sweating and bad housing accommodation, can repudiate the charge which couples Socialism with atheism. Mr. Pethick-Lawrence, content with advocating the nationalisation of the railways, can decline to trouble himself about the policy of Mr. Hyndman. Mr. Sidney Webb, as an expert witness on behalf of Collectivism, can refuse to accept any responsibility for the latest utterance of Mr. Victor Grayson. Mr. Bernard Shaw, surveying the erotic farcical-comedy, Life, from the heights of pure Fabianism, can disclaim all complicity in the acts of the Glasgow Anarchist-Socialists. Mr. Macdonald can deny from one platform the assertion that Socialism means confiscation and the abolition of capital, while Mr. Quelch simultaneously announces from a second platform that Socialism stands for the confiscation of national debt interest, and Mr. Fitzgerald declares from a third that the abolition of capital is the precise object of the movement.

This anarchy of thought is not promising as an augury of the Socialist State, but it is an invaluable asset to a party of disruption. It enables the Socialist leader to escape from many a crux: when hard pressed by Constitutional opponents, he has only to disavow the inconvenient pronouncements of other Socialists as 'not Socialism,' to avoid implication in their consequences. The policy of disavowal is one of the factors in the extreme elasticity of the Socialist party. In attacking the Constitution, the party is one force. When attacked in turn, it is a mass of evading, retreating, turning atoms, which cannot be involved in corporate responsibility, and against which the ordinary

weapons of political warfare are of no more account than a sword thrust into quicksilver.

But, if this anarchy is a source of advantage to Socialists, it at least forbids any one leader of the party to speak for the movement as a whole. Socialists cannot, at one and the same time, reject corporate responsibility and claim corporate authority. No British Socialist, therefore, has the right to say what the whole movement stands for; he is entitled to speak only for his own section. Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Victor Grayson may speak for the Independent Labour Party; Mr. Hyndman and Mr. Belford Bax for the Social Democrats; Mr. Shaw and Mr. Webb for the Fabians; Mr. Blatchford for the Blatchfordites; and Mr. H. G. Wells for himself; but none of these leaders, nor all together, have any authority to speak for British Socialism as a whole—to say which form is destined to dominate the movement, and, in consequence, which direction the movement is likely to take. They have no better claims to represent the desires and thoughts of the mass of Socialists than a Hindu or a Mohammedan, a Buddhist or a Parsi, has to rhetorise in the name of India.

The duty of the historian and critic is to relegate all the sectional leaders strictly to their own places; and to point out that the Socialist authors, Messrs. Blatchford, Hyndman, Bax, Wells, Macdonald, and Keir Hardie, in so far as they claim to express the ideas or sentiments of the movement as a whole, are destitute of authority. Since there is no person within the movement qualified to speak in the general name,

it follows that judgment on British Socialism must be passed from the outside. The question whether Socialism is, or is not, a public danger; whether it is a revolutionary or a constitutional movement, entitled to the protection of the laws or deserving of their severity, is not one to be decided by Socialist experts. It is submitted to the trained judgment of students of history, practical politics, and human nature, and to the common sense of the English people.

V

Objective View of the Party

The all-important fact to establish is a general character of the movement; and there is a strong inherent probability at the outset that the non-Socialist view will be truer than the Socialist. It has the signal advantage of being objective—a matter of great consequence in politics, where subjective and warped views prevail to an extent unknown in other sciences. The non-Socialist sees Socialism as one movement, and the Socialists as a special party; whereas the Socialist is a sectionalist, who sees Socialism as Fabianism, or Independent Labourism, or Social Democratism, and is too conscious of the differences between the rival forms to recognise their near relationship. The non-Socialist sees clearly that the members of the Fabian Society, the Independent Labour Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Socialist Party of Great Britain, are all Socialists. The member of the Socialist

Party of Great Britain, on the contrary, scoffs at the Fabians as Socialists, rejects the Independent Labourists, and has serious doubts about the Social Democrats.

The Socialist regards the Independent Labourists and the Social Democrats as two separate parties; the non-Socialist sees them as rival branches of one party —an objective view which is in perfect accord with history. The sectional habit—as well as policy—leads Socialists to attribute to Socialism as a whole the tenets of their own particular sub-parties. The non-Socialist regards Socialism as the sum of the tenets of all the sub-parties—a true critical view. Thus, as we have seen, Mr. J. R. Macdonald asserts that 'Socialism' does not involve the abolition of capital, while Mr. Fitzgerald asserts that 'Socialism' does. The non-Socialist therefore regards Socialism as a doctrine which may, but does not necessarily, involve the abolition of capital; seeing that one section of Socialists advocates such abolition, while another and larger section opposes it. Again, in view of the fact that one section of Socialists advocates the compensation of dispossessed property-owners, while another section proposes a time-limit beyond which property-rights shall cease, and a third categorically demands confiscation,—the non-Socialist regards Socialism as a system under which dispossessed property-owners may, but not necessarily will, receive some kind of compensation.

The view of the general public as to what constitutes Socialism is thus substantially the same as that of

history. Even the most orthodox member of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, if asked to write a history of British Socialism, would probably decide not to ignore the Fabian Society and the Independent Labour Party. Apart from history, however, there is one great fact which proves that the different Socialist organisations compose one party, despite their internal dissensions, their mutual disclaimers, and their want of a central administration. It is the crucial fact that they work together.

In politics, leaders' professions count for little: we cannot even depend on their always meaning the precise contrary of what is said; but actions speak loud, and owing to the unfortunate necessity they are under of letting the public sooner or later into their confidence on the most, as well as the least, important items of policy, it is a matter of impossibility for a party to conceal its strategy from the eye of the political historian. It would be an error to assume, when Socialist leaders solemnly assure the country that they have no designs on the Trade Union funds, that they have any intention of relaxing their protracted efforts to secure these resources. When the press of the country is ringing with reports of a great division between militarists and anti-militarists in the Socialist party, it should not be supposed that the protagonists are necessarily at daggers drawn behind the scenes. Splits and quarrels have marked every stage of the Socialist path to success. The Socialist party, like certain elementary zoological forms, thrives and multiplies by fission; and the constant friction

between the sections of its organisation serves only to keep the members warm in their faith.

VI

Co-operation and Complicity

Neither the professions of leaders nor the quarrels of followers can affect the significance of the fact that all classes of Socialists regularly co-operate for common ends and against a common enemy. This one fact establishes their joint responsibility for their several policies, and involves the whole party in a corporate complexity for what is menacing to society in its composition. To-day militarist and anti-militarist, confiscationist and compensationist, red revolutionary and pacifist, air their differences in the public eye; to-morrow they combine to demand State pensions for the aged, the free feeding of children by the State, the State control of the railways, or State aid for the unemployed.

Thus Fabian, Independent Labourist, and Social Democrat unite to form the National Right to Work Council, on which Messrs. Keir Hardie (anti-militarist), J. R. Macdonald (compensationist), and H. Quelch (militarist and confiscationist) work in perfect harmony. A similar fusion of sections has taken place to press the claim for universal suffrage. As question after question comes before the public, a special combination of Socialists, from parties professing incompatible doctrines, is formed to exploit it.

But it is in the constituencies that the Socialist co-operation is most effective. Members of the Independent Labour Party, Social Democratic Party, and Fabian Society speak on one another's platforms, and help to swell one another's meetings. At the Haggerston election, 1908, speakers of all three organisations worked for Mr. Herbert Burrows, a strong Social Democrat. In the Colne Valley district we see Mr. Hyndman (S.D.P.) and Mr. Blatchford supporting Mr. Victor Grayson (I.L.P.) in his annual demonstration. Active local organisations, like the Blackpool Socialist Party and the Bolton Socialist Party, carry on an energetic general propaganda, and secure Socialist speakers of every gradation to assist in the work of winning the constituencies for Socialism.

When municipal or parliamentary seats are to be contested, arrangements are made to divide candidatures between the I.L.P. and the S.D.P., according to their local strength. It sometimes happens that the I.L.P. and S.D.P. quarrel among themselves, as I.L.P. branches quarrel with the central executive; but it may be taken as the rule that when an I.L.P. candidate stands he is helped by S.D.P. workers and receives S.D.P. votes; and *vice versa*. Even in cases where the headquarter organisations refuse to co-operate, the local branches act together. Thus the S.D.P. declines, for the present, to form an official component part of the Labour Party. But this does not prevent members of S.D.P. branches from co-operating with I.L.P. members in the formation of local Labour Representation Committees, affiliated to

the Labour Party; nor does it prevent a Social Democrat, Mr. Will Thorne, from sitting as a member of the Labour Party in the House of Commons.

It is also the fact that the I.L.P. and S.D.P. are linked together, despite the difference of their programmes, by a section of members who belong to both organisations. It may seem, and is indeed surprising, that Socialists can be found to accept the separate tenets of these parties with regard to the two vital articles of confiscation and the Class War, seeing that the I.L.P. professes to reject both, while the S.D.P. supports them. But it is no more surprising than the fact of the general local co-operation between the branches.

Furthermore, the whole movement is kneaded together by the action of the Blatchford school, who, with their newspaper, their pamphlets, and their books; their scouting organisation, their meetings and debates, and their system of travelling speakers' vans; their Clarion fellowships and social clubs—provide a common meeting-ground for all Socialists, and help at the same time to influence members of the I.L.P., the S.D.P., and other organisations in favour of Blatchfordian Communism. Add to this that various federations of Socialist societies have come into existence—such as those of Kent and Devon—which link together I.L.P., Fabian, S.D.P., and other branches into local Socialist parties; while simultaneously a unity movement has made progress in various parts of the country, the object of which is to weld all the divergent elements of British Socialism

definitely into the ideal 'one Socialist party,' with a unified organisation and a common programme.

From these facts it is clear that the Socialist confederacy in this country is, as previously stated, a real party, that its sections work in effectual and continual co-operation, and that the whole movement, which profits by this co-operation, is involved in corporate responsibility for the sectional policies and programmes through which recruits and resources are obtained. The revolutionist is brought in by a revolutionary programme, the parliamentarist by a parliamentary programme; and so long as the parliamentarians receive help from the revolutionists, and give help in return, they remain implicated in the organisation of a menacing, unconstitutional movement. In the forefront of this remarkable Socialist army are the moderate Liberal-Socialists; the ranks in the extreme rear are composed of violent Anarchist-Socialists—and the whole army moves together. While this effectual co-operation continues, the Progressive-Socialist must share the burden and complexity with the confiscationist; the Christian-Socialist with the Atheist-Socialist; the Socialist reformer with the social revolutionary.

VII

Aims of the Socialist Confederacy

We have now a connected objective view of British Socialism as a whole: we see it as a local form of the

European movement, less advanced in the avowal of Socialist principles than the French, less coherent, extensive, and uniform than the German, but forming a perfect proselytising instrument, having regard to English conditions; a persuasive mission sect, inviting the mildest and most extreme of Socialists to enter the common church at different ends, and utilising all their energies for a common purpose.

The organisation, constituted as a loose confederation of autonomous units, is of partly spontaneous, partly artificial formation. Twenty-five years of activity and experiment have evolved a system which is elastic and comprehensive, and fits itself to its circumstances of time and place as the matrix to the mould. Each section disclaiming responsibility for the others, yet all involved by their co-operation in a general complicity, the movement is mobile, evasive, and mysterious. It has an element of the unknown, a suggestion of hidden possibilities. No leader can speak for the whole movement: none can even be sure of the allegiance of his own followers to the party policy. The Socialist body is a confluence of atoms, which slip aside when struck at, as the grain moves when a hand is plunged in a barrel of gunpowder, but whose force is likely to be terrible when the moment of concussion arrives.

While deferring a fuller exposition of the policy of the Socialist confederacy until later, I may note that all the principal organisations have one object in common—the foundation of the Socialist State. All are striving, though by various means, for the socialisa-

tion of the means of production. All are working to win the reins of power for a Socialist government. All, therefore, are working for the abolition of private enterprise, and the annulment of the principle of inheritance. These points are beyond dispute: they are announced or directly implied in the programmes of the Independent Labour Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Fabian Society, the Socialist Party of Great Britain, and the Socialist Labour Party.

Some Socialists prefer political action, others favour direct action. One section aims to rouse the workers to one great act of revolution, another advocates the policy of Socialism by instalments. Some rigid partisans are opposed to working with Trade Unionists until they have formally declared for Socialism. Another and more supple school works with the Trade Unionists in order to make Socialists of them. But, though they take various routes and go forward in different order, all the sections are marching towards a common goal.

The knowledge of these facts, and of the present strength of Socialism, will go far to dispel any doubt which may linger in the public mind as to the general character and seriousness of the movement—a doubt which has been skilfully planted there by Socialist policy.

VIII

The System and the Individual

Perhaps the most convincing way to a right understanding of the Socialist machine is through a study of

its action in relation to the individual. It is doubtful if any student of the movement, however erudite his knowledge of its history or economics, can have a due conception of the system unless he has been brought into intimate contact with its personal side, and has gone down into the branches to watch the Socialists at work and meet them in discussion. There is an inner as well as an outer side to the Socialist movement. The true life is seen, not so much in the light of day and on the public platform, as in the out-of-the-way meeting-halls, the clubs, the Little Bethels in which the Socialist vitality of the working-class districts ferments unseen by the outer world.

There are many kinds of branches—some highly respectable and prosperous; others steeped in poverty and degeneration so dire as to wring the heart and almost to defy description. The units of the Independent Labour Party are distinct in character from those of the Social Democrats. The Labour Church has a note of its own: the Socialist Party of Great Britain is different from all the rest. It is in these little communities that the fire of Socialism burns most fiercely, in these sordid meeting-places that the devoted catch their Pisgah-sights of the radiant Socialist State, in which there shall be no more poverty and unemployment—an ideal to them worth working, hoping, living for—worth shedding blood for.

Into this network of communities, supporting a pyramid of machinery whose apex reaches into Parliament, the Socialist recruit enters with no conception of the busy life before him. He comes as a convert,

and it is possible that his conversion may be accompanied by a complex change of spirit and outlook. Strange as it may seem, the psychological crisis through which the novice passes at this stage sometimes produces effects as remarkable as those half-miraculous metamorphoses wrought by Methodism, Revivalism, and Salvationism. That is to say, the Socialist convert is filled with a sense of peace, a conviction of truth, and a spirit of self-devotion. There are Socialist working men who talk of this period in their lives with bated breath, as of something sacred. Sometimes, however, the effect is the precise contrary, the convert being turned from a healthy-minded man into a cynical and rebellious atheist.

Whatever the man's disposition, the organisation has a place for him. There is no institution in the world, except the Roman Church, which makes so much use of the willing convert. It should be remembered that the Socialist parties are missionary organisations: their business is to train leaders, not to bring the working-class as a whole into their system. They consist of the 'active citizens' of the proletarian movement—the officers and non-commissioned officers of the people's army. Therefore every member of a Socialist organisation is expected to be a worker. The rule 'From every man according to his ability' is strictly observed. The member may act as canvasser, scout, speaker, heckler, organiser, secretary, delegate, emissary, or bill-distributor, according to his taste and talent, but act in some capacity he must.

Whatever ambition the man may have is fired and

developed by the opportunities laid open to him. The system absorbs him, if not body and soul, at least heart and pocket. Socialism becomes his religion, his hobby, his exercise, his recreation—the be-all and end-all of his existence. Let us assume that he joins a branch of the Independent Labour Party, and that he is a Trade Unionist of fair talent. Having been led into the fold by the words of some street-corner speaker, and strengthened in his early groping towards conviction by the reasoning of other Socialist workers, his first step when inside the movement is to study some standard works on Socialism, together with the literature of the party.

In a few months he finds himself easily able to worst his non-Socialist fellow-workmen in the economic discussions of the dinner-hour, and begins to feel the delight and triumph of the man with a panacea. Victory brings confidence, and confidence fluency. The new recruit comes out as a street-corner speaker, and receives the generous applause which working men are always ready to bestow on a man of talent. He is now a public character, and may gratify his taste for eloquence by acting as a working-men's delegate on some small occasion, such as a deputation to the local Council requiring that all its printing shall be done by firms paying 'society' rates.

He becomes secretary or organiser of the branch, or founds a new branch and becomes organiser of that; and thereafter there is no social height he may not aspire to. By virtue of being a Socialist and a working man he has a ten times better chance of becoming a member

of Parliament or a Councillor than any householder of the middle-class, or, for that matter, than any able man or brilliant speaker in London. He finds himself courted on occasion by local Liberals—and even by local Conservatives.

It is not surprising, in the circumstances, that the movement should attract so many active men. By this time, Socialism has become a part of the individual's life. He has, with some initial difficulty, brought his wife and children into the movement, and this working man, who counts as only one vote on the register, is in fact a nucleus of Socialism, the leader of a group of other working men ready to vote as he advises, urges, and persuades them. He spends every hour of his spare time, every spare shilling, on the cause. Besides attending to the work of his own branch, he goes to public meetings, arranges visits of Socialist vans, takes part in public debates. On Sunday morning he and his wife attend the Labour Church; in the afternoon his children go to the Socialist Sunday-school. When he reads, he reads Socialist books and pamphlets, and the Socialist press. When he takes a week-end outing, he goes with a band of Clarion cyclists, and exchanges the Socialist passwords, 'Boots' and 'Spurs' with other such bands on the road. His summer holiday is passed with his family in a Socialist camp. If he has any other time for recreation, he spends it at the local Labour Club, where he meets Radical working men and helps to sway them for Socialism.

He is brought into friendly contact with the Socialist

leaders and members of Parliament who travel between centre and centre as incessantly as the bobbin in the loom, and weave the whole strange fabric of Socialism together. These speakers appeal to every fibre of his nature, and identify Socialism successively with the people's movement, the women's movement, the children's movement, and the unemployed workmen's movement—until Socialism is conceived as the negation of every fault in the present system and the embodiment of everything good for the masses.

Many opportunities of success and advancement are open to the Socialist. His Socialist-Labour comrades will help him to a place on the local Trades Council and the local Labour Representation Committee. He may act as representative on a district federation of Socialist societies, and be sent as delegate to the annual conference of the party. He is sure of effective support if he desires to stand for the Urban District Council, the Guardians, the Town Council, or the County Council. Finally, through the Labour Representation Committee, he can find a place in the Labour Party, and be selected as a candidate for Parliament.

In all this life there is an excitement, an activity, and an incentive which contrast strangely with what the Liberal and Conservative organisations have to offer the working man. The privilege of routine work in beating up a roster of phenomenally apathetic voters; the satisfaction of Saturday-night billiards; the reward of an invitation to an annual party, where the inferiority of his social position is the most conspicuous feature of the feast; and the supreme

advantage of cheap beer—such are the inducements offered by the Constitutional organisations to the active-minded workman who seeks to improve his class or gratify his taste for politics. The Socialist —vicious as his principles, impossible as his aims may be—is a living part of a palpitating system: a pillar of the church.

IX

England and the European Movement

In studying the history of British Socialists, its relation to the general European movement must be borne in mind throughout. The fact that it has behind it the impulse and influence of the most powerful political organisation in Europe gives it an importance out of all proportion to its present numerical and financial strength—considerable as this will be shown to be. From the point of view of the general European movement, English Socialism is a partially developed, though advancing, branch of the one system; a branch which is destined, by the law of growth, to develop in strength and doctrine—to become at once more powerful in numbers and more positive in Socialist principles.

The Socialist confederacy is therefore different in character from either the Tory or the Liberal organisation. The Tory party is a purely national party; all its ideals are English, its methods are English, its policy is designed for England and the Empire. The

Liberal party is an English institution, with Continental Liberal affiliations. The Socialist party, distinct from either, is simply the local organisation of a European movement. Its own leaders proclaim its internationalism, and are so keen in their desire for adequate representation at the Continental Congresses of the movement—the true parliament of Socialism—that they are perpetually bickering among themselves for pride of place.

The international character of the great social revolutionary movement is so firmly established as to be beyond dispute; and therefore the course and character of Socialism in Great Britain must be judged in relation to the Continental movement in the present, and the British manifestations of the proletarian movement in the past. It is a remarkable and significant fact that, whenever the proletarian movement has been powerful and insurrectionary on the Continent, there has been pronounced insurgent feeling and excitation among the people of this country.

There have been, as I have shown in the previous section on the European movement, five distinct political storm-periods in the past century and a quarter. The years 1793, 1830, 1848, and 1871, were the time-centres of the first four vortices, the insurrectionary feeling extending for a few years before and after these medial points. All these four periods were marked by the rise of a threatening spirit generally accompanied by violent acts, in this country as on the Continent; thus conclusively proving that

England has been in nowise immune from the general evil.

These facts should be insisted upon the more for the reason that they have never been properly appreciated by English historians. Glimpses of the great evolution have been caught by various writers; but not one author appears to have taken a broad survey and connected view of the whole process. Alison certainly comes the nearest to scientific truth in his conception of the sympathetic action and reaction of European political movements; there is in his work a deep feeling, rather than a distinct perception of the internationalism of the scattered and sporadic local symptoms. But so inveterate is the English habit of regarding England as something different in kind from the Continent—a country above or beyond the social laws governing the development of Europe in the mass—that even the latest writers fail lamentably to present a true picture of the facts of the English social movement in its due proportion and relationship.[1]

Admirable, in one sense, as this English pride is,

[1] Thus Mr. Benson and Lord Esher, in the *Letters of Queen Victoria*, write with unwarranted contempt of English Chartism, which, in the light of European history, was undoubtedly a serious insurrectionary movement. Messrs. Sidney Low and Lloyd Sanders (*The Political History of England*, vol. xii.; *The History of England during the Reign of Queen Victoria*) give briefly accurate accounts of the disorders, but say nothing which leads the reader to realise the relation of Chartism to the general social and insurrectionary movement among the European peoples at the period. It is this relation which gives Chartism all the historic significance it possesses.

it must not be allowed to obscure a scientific understanding of the great organic processes of modern political life. The Anglo-Celtic nation, the very embodiment and concentration of Western Europe in its racial composition, is not what scientists term a 'sport.' Europe is one social whole, of which England is a constituent part. So far from being an extraneous organism, it is the very keypiece of the European system. It is both unhistorical and unscientific to assume that the English populace, at any period of its history, can be unsusceptible to a movement which is stirring the vitals of the whole European proletariat.

There is more in the insurrectionary phenomena we have noted than a mere sympathetic reaction between England and the Continent; there is, I repeat, one great organic movement, which has displayed parallel symptoms, subject to local variation, in every European country. The disturbances which circle through the whole area are not mere imitations one of another, but spring from a common source. The European proletariat lives, as a whole, under the same general economic conditions. The people think similar thoughts, read similar literature, and maintain a continual interchange of ideas. The improvement of communications has altered the international situation to such an extent that the national barriers have gone, while the class barriers remain.

X

The First Two Storm-Periods

The condition of England during each of the storm-periods amply bears out the foregoing remarks. It is almost unnecessary to offer evidence as to the state of the country during the first of these periods. England was reeking with sedition and honeycombed with illegal societies in correspondence with the French movement. The same doctrines which evoked the fire of fanaticism in France were preached with enthusiasm in England, where Robespierre had a circle of extreme admirers. Every principle, every stirring speech in glorification of the sovereign people, every demand for political liberty and social equality, which stirred the emotions and passions of the Paris proletariat, was re-echoed on this side of the Channel. Democratic delirium and class hatred took possession of the proletariat. The Alien Act and Traitorous Correspondence Act were passed to prevent co-operation between English and foreign revolutionaries, but the ferment continued and preparations for a general working-class revolution were begun. The King was assaulted by the mob when on the way to open Parliament, and the men of the Navy, becoming infected with Jacobinist ideas, broke into mutiny at Spithead and the Nore. England, in short, was on the verge of a bloody insurrection, a fate from which she was saved by the courage of the King, the fine inflexibility of Pitt in the cause of order, the loyalty of the middle

classes, and a rally of the old Whigs to Pitt's support. Ireland, which had played a special part throughout the proletarian insurrectionary movement, invited the help of the French soldiery, and broke into open rebellion. It is worthy of note that the revolutionary movement in England at that period, as since, sheltered itself behind a reform movement. Pitt refused to be misled by the strategy. 'The phrase Parliamentary Reform,' he said, 'no more legalises seditious meetings than "God Save the King" written at the bottom of an insurrectionary proclamation would make it innocent.' The agitators were thrown into prison, and the country was saved from revolution by a timely exercise of wholesome severity. The period of danger lasted for seven years—from 1792, when the militia was called out to suppress the rising disorders, to 1798, when the Irish insurrection was crushed at the battle of Vinegar Hill.

It has been noted on an earlier page that the social ferment among the proletariat reappeared in both England and France directly after the battle of Waterloo. Between 1815 and 1830 the movement steadily grew stronger in both countries, and assumed a partly political, partly economic character. 1819 was the year of the Peterloo incident, which was followed by the passing of Lord Sidmouth's 'Six Acts,' giving magistrates summary power to deal with seditious meetings. Ireland was again thrown into a convulsion which brought the country to the verge of civil war, and incessant pressure was maintained by the democratic movement in England. In this period Owen's

Socialist and secularist agitation was carried on, an energetic propaganda being arranged, whereby the country was deluged with pamphlets and papers in favour of Owen's views. This, in passing, was the first form of organised proletariat propaganda on modern lines which this country has seen: it was copied by the Free Trade and Chartist movements, and has since formed one of the standard features of the English political system. The propaganda, and the experiments in Communism which Owen initiated in these years, undoubtedly contributed to the general ferment of social unrest, but it cannot be said that Owenism formed the definite economic expression of the democratic movement at the period.

The pressure of that movement became more and more severe as 1830 approached; and, as soon as the Irish trouble was temporarily quieted by the grant of Catholic Emancipation in 1829, the agitation came to a head in the immediate demand for Parliamentary Reform. The debates in Parliament in 1830 were very stormy, and the spirit in the country was mutinous. In the following year, when the Reform Bill was rejected by the Lords, there was a violent explosion of popular feeling. Rioting took place in London, as well as at Derby, Birmingham, Nottingham, Bristol, and other towns. At Birmingham a resolution was carried to pay no more taxes until the Bill should pass. The outbreak at Bristol was a local insurrection, and was only suppressed by the military at the cost of much bloodshed. A number of public buildings were burnt by the mob, and more than a hundred

persons were killed and injured. Dismayed by these threatenings of more dangerous events in store, the King and the Lords yielded, and the Reform Bill was passed in 1832.

XI

1832 TO 1848

The Reform Act of 1832—the Revolution of 1832, as it was termed by many responsible persons—was the culmination of the British proletarian movement of the period, and was the English counterpart of the French Revolution of July 1830. The parallel between the English and the Continental proceedings during the epoch 1830-1848, was curiously close at several points, and afforded a further demonstration that the separate national movements in Western Europe proceeded from a common social base. In both cases a democratic movement—partly political, partly economic—ended in an explosion which upset the balance of political power. In both cases the result of the agitation was to confer the power on the middle-classes—not on the democracy whose turbulence had wrought the change.[1] In both cases a middle-class government ruled steadily until the next storm-period,

[1] 'In England the reform of 1832 had the same effect as the revolution of July (1830) in France; it brought the middle-class into power, and by the exclusion of the workmen emphasised their existence as a separate class.'—Kirkup, *History of Socialism*, p. 70.

1848-9. The Whig party in England played a similar part to that of Louis Philippe and his government in France. It held the power without intermission during the whole of the interval, firmly convinced that it represented the definitive form of modern government, but in reality serving merely as a cover for the growth of the proletarian movement.[1]

That movement took two forms—the Chartist in England, the Repeal in Ireland. The Chartist agitation, which has been described in an earlier part of this book, was an unmistakable local form of the proletarian insurrectionary movement of Europe. Its internationalism was revealed in its name, the idea of the Charter being adapted from France. Its Socialistic and insurgent character has also been definitely established. The spread of the Socialist principles which the Chartist leaders inculcated was greatly assisted by the propaganda of the Owenite movement, now in its second stage. The Owenite ideas spread through the working classes during this period like those of Cabet among the contemporary French *ouvriers*, or those of Blatchford among the workers in our own time. Later, when Owenism flagged, the agitation was given a new countenance by the Christian Socialism of Kingsley and Maurice — an ardent,

[1] 'The Whig party, in consequence of the revolution in England of 1832, got possession of power, which they held for the next seventeen years, under different administrations, without intermission. The result was the Repeal agitation, followed by the rebellion of 1848 in Ireland, and the Chartist conspiracy, which so seriously threatened the monarchy in April 1848, in England.'—Alison, *History of Europe*.

pietistic, and short-lived crusade, marked by the best intentions, and a complete ignorance of the real nature and objective of the proletarian insurgence.

XII

The Irish Proletarian Movement

Side by side with the English movement, with its compound of Chartism, Owenism, and general discontent, the Irish agitation took its own course. The Irish proletarian ferment has already been noted as preserving throughout its history a local character of its own. For long it was complicated by religious issues, but, these apart, the movement is clearly seen to possess the stigmata and affiliations of the European insurgence. Its correspondence with the Jacobinist party during the French Revolution has been mentioned. During the whole period under review, there has been a special connection and sympathy between Ireland and France; and the Irish political agitation has been inspired throughout by the ideas and forms of the Continental proletarian movement.[1]

[1] Hence, when the Young Ireland rebellion broke out, it naturally adopted the methods of the French insurrectionary school. 'John Mitchell founded the *United Irishman*, which published instructions for making pikes and building barricades. Smith O'Brien . . . was the nominal chief of this ill-organised conspiracy. The violence of the Young Ireland newspapers increased, and Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and others withdrew into the country, and held hillside meetings, at which volunteers were enrolled.'—Low and Sanders, *The History of England during the Reign of Queen Victoria.*

Thus it has been insurrectionary from first to last. Again and again in the past hundred and twenty-five years the country has been wrought to the verge (or beyond the verge) of rebellion. It was so in 1798, 1829, and again in 1848. The passionate demand for autonomy is another feature identifying the Irish with the general movement. Its intensely democratic character is one more of the familiar signs. Had either the Repeal or the Home Rule demand been granted, the United Kingdom would have been split into a confederacy of autonomous units, of which the Irish section would certainly have advanced on French democratic rather than English authoritarian lines. The economic motive of the movement, latent from the first, did not come to the forefront until a subsequent period, when it took the form of a demand for a democratic redistribution of the land. The class-war character of the agitation has been only too prominent. Hatred of the landowner has been as marked a feature of the Irish insurgence as it was in France in 1793, and Galicia in 1846.

There is a particular significance in the fact that the Irish agitation has generally progressed at the same time and rate as the English proletarian movement of the period. With the democratic insurgence of 1792-8 went the rising of Irish discontent which culminated in the rebellion of 1798. The menace of the British agitation ending in 1832 was heightened by the Catholic Emancipation campaign. The Chartist movement of 1840-8, and the Repeal movement of the same period, advanced by parallel routes. So throughout the two move-

ments are independent, but simultaneous. They have many interests in common, and each reacts continually on the other. The Repeal movement of 1840-8 followed the normal course. Organised by O'Connell as a quasi-constitutional agitation, it was committed by the Young Ireland party, in spite of his wishes, to a physical-force policy. Both the English Chartist and Irish Repeal agitations fully revealed their insurrectionary character in the violent events of 1848, and were broken up by the extensive military arrangements of the Duke of Wellington, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, and the transportation of Chartist leaders for life. Among the repressive measures adopted by the Government was the passing of the Treason Felony Act of 1848.[1]

XIII

The International

After the year of Revolution, 1848, we make a leap of nearly twenty years, and arrive at a new political

[1] This statute supplies Government with valuable powers for the repression of seditious and unconstitutional agitations. It provides that: 'If any person shall, within the United Kingdom or without, compass to depose the King, or to levy war against him, within any part of the United Kingdom, in order to compel him to change his counsels, or in order to intimidate or overawe Parliament, or to stir any foreigner with force to invade the United Kingdom, or any other His Majesty's dominions, and such compassings shall express by writing, or by open or advised speaking, or by any overt Act, he shall be guilty of felony.'—Treason Felony Act, 1848, 11 and 12 Vict. c. 12, s. 3.

epoch. Before considering its history and features, we may observe that each of the clearly marked periods into which the course of the proletarian movement is divided, has had a special and distinct character. The first, or 1793 period, was one of general destructive frenzy, political and economic. The next, or 1830-32 period, was one of political reconquest, unexpectedly baffled. 1848 was the Communist-Chartist period—when a premature attempt was made by a crude but powerful movement to reassert the sovereignty of the people.

The 1867-70 epoch was different from any of the preceding. The Communists had now generally discarded their name of ill-omen for that of Socialists, which stood for the old motives and principles, but had a less defiant ring. As I have shown in the chapters on the European movement, Marx, the genius of the international renascence, deliberately set himself to achieve the same ends as of old by new and crafty methods. Instead of casting the threat of revolution in the face of society, he initiated his astute policy of the reorganisation of the working-class on independent lines—the policy of involution. According to the new theory, it was a matter of no consequence how, or upon what basis, the working men's party should be started. The one thing necessary was to get it going somehow—in order to lead it towards Socialism, step by step, afterwards. The danger of feeding the working men on the strong meat of Socialism at the beginning must be strictly guarded against. Little by little their old-fashioned, national,

constitutional, or trade-unionist prejudices would be overcome. They would be led from Socialistic palliatives to Socialistic policy; from Socialistic policy to Socialist principles and action. Thus the working man might be gradually involved in the whole range of Marxian doctrine; and the novice who had entered the order as a constitutional trade-unionist would find himself eventually a fully fledged Socialist, committed to the fundamental principle of the Class War and all its logical, but extreme and dangerous, consequences.[1]

[1] In making this definite statement of the methods of Socialists in the Socialist-Labour associations which have been formed since 1864, I should have been compelled to rely for confirmation largely on personal information, had not the blazing indiscretion of the editor of the *Socialist Review* supplied ample testimony. The *Review* is published by the Independent Labour Party. In the March 1908 number, the editor prints a series of remarkable private letters, written by Marx and Engels, to Sorge. The object of the reprint is obviously to ridicule the uncompromisingly Socialist policy of Mr. Hyndman and the Social Democratic Party; but the editor applies the lash with such vigour that every stripe falls first on his own back. The letters form a perfect summary of Independent Labour Party policy. Engels writes (November 29, 1886): 'The first great step which every country that comes into the movement must take is always the forming of the working men into an independent political party. It is indifferent how, so long as it is only a distinct working men's party.' Again, on December 28, 1886, Engels writes: 'But above all give the movement time to consolidate. Do not make the inevitable confusion of the first start worse confounded by forcing down people's throats food which they are not able at present, but which they will soon learn, to digest.' On April 19, 1890, Engels writes: 'In such a land [England] of old political and workmen's movements, there is always an immense accumulation of rubbish handed down by tradition which must gradually be placed on one side. There are the prejudices of the skilled Trade Unions, Engineers, Bricklayers, Carpenters, Joiners, Type Compositors, etc. etc., which must all

The difference between the Communist movement of 1847 and the Socialist movement of 1864 is broadly this: the one was a secret organisation with an avowed policy, the other an avowed organisation with a secret policy. The aim was the same in both cases: a complete social revolution, leading to the State appropriation of all the means of production and the State organisation of industry therewith. The methods of the International give a new character to the Socialist movement at this later period. They were wholly different from those of other political parties, whose leaders were accustomed to state their policies to the public, and rely on these policies to win public opinion. The new Socialist methods were quasi-constitutional, quasi-pacific; they were an endeavour to reconcile the constitutional and the revolutionary—to use constitutional forms for revolutionary purposes—and they necessarily bring into suspicion any Socialist-Labour combination since formed upon them. The strange thing is that any political organisation should ever have imagined them to be legitimate, and consistent with its recognition as a constitutional party. Whatever their pretensions, they had no effect on the insurrectionary bent of the proletarian movement. That, as we have seen, was innate and ineradicable,

be disarmed.' In these letters Engels epitomises the policy of Marx in the International, of which Socialism was the secret object of the inner circle for years before it was definitely avowed. That policy was to make a start merely as a working men's society, to commit non-Socialist working men gradually to Socialism, to undermine their trade unions as obstacles to Socialism, and to lead them by stages into the Class War.

and, directly the opportunity arrived in 1871, the outbreak followed.

XIV

1867: The Reform Bill

The fact that England was preserved from serious social conflagration at this period was due, not to the want of combustible material, but to the foresight of Disraeli. The proletarian movement in this country, in the sextennium between the foundation of the International and the Franco-German war of 1870, kept pace with that of the Continent. In form, it was again partly political, partly economic. Radicalism was its characteristic expression. The spirit of the working classes was turbulent and insurrectionary. The trade unions had become a power in the land, but they were not understood by society, and did not understand themselves.

1866 was described in the *Times* of December 31 as a 'gloomy, eventful, and ominous year.' Trade had declined, political agitation was producing disorders throughout the country, and the financial panic following the Overend-Gurney stoppage reduced English credit to a low ebb throughout Europe. The demand for Parliamentary Reform produced mass meetings in London and the provinces. Late in June, and early in July, reform demonstrations were held in Trafalgar Square, and on the 23rd of the latter month came the historic mass meeting in Hyde Park, when the

demonstrators were refused admittance, the railings were thrown down, and the military were called out to preserve order. The event created a great sensation throughout the country,[1] and the tension was heightened by the holding of other mass meetings in the great industrial towns. Immense crowds, in which the organised trade unionists were conspicuous, assembled at Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and Glasgow. At Manchester, John Bright, carried away with the excitement of the epoch, spoke of justifiable rebellion as a possible contingency, and in a later speech he threatened that the peaceable demonstrations would, if necessary, give place to a display of force. Twenty-five thousand London trade unionists marched in military order through the West End, and it was proposed to reproduce the great procession of 1780, when Lord George Gordon led the mob to the Houses of Parliament. A series of trade-union outrages took place in the North, and a system of secret terrorism was instituted. Sheffield and Manchester were the centres of the movement, to inquire into which a Royal Commission sat in 1867.

In these events the International played its part. The Socialist organisation, be it noted again, is not intended to be co-extensive with the working classes. Its immediate political aim is always to constitute

[1] 'The excitement was great, and many of the inhabitants of London fancied that the reign of anarchy had begun. . . . The disturbance was enough to show the danger which might easily arise from any refusal to handle the matter of reform.'—Bright, *History of England, Period IV.—Growth of Democracy.* London: Longmans.

itself the medium of working-class expression. The proletarian movement in which it participates may, or may not, have been fomented by Socialist exertions; but, however such movement comes into being, the Socialists place themselves at its head, and form its vanguard.

The seriousness of the English democratic movement was increased by the renascence of the Irish trouble in a new form. The Fenian conspiracy was instituted by Irishmen exiled for their share in the rebellion of 1848, precisely as the Paris Commune of 1871 numbered among its principles men who had led the '48 insurrection. The Irish rebels had gone to the United States, where they founded the Fenian brotherhood. Between 1865 and 1868 they returned and carried on a secret campaign of sedition. American ex-officers landed in the country, and there was a continual importation of arms. Attempts were made to tamper with the troops, and in 1866 Lord Wodehouse (afterwards Lord Kimberley) stated that the country was on the verge of armed rebellion, and called for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. In 1867 the insurrection infected England. A daring plan to carry Chester Castle by assault was forestalled by the Government, but an equally audacious attack on a police van at Manchester was carried out, and two Fenian prisoners were released. Finally, there was a serious explosion at Clerkenwell Prison, which threw London into a state of great excitement, and led to the rapid enrolment of a hundred thousand special constables.

The state of the country was such that some bold political measure was absolutely necessary to avert a democratic deluge. The genius of Disraeli was equal to the situation. He introduced and carried the great Reform Bill of 1867, which nearly doubled the electorate, and enfranchised the working men. The step was described at the time as a leap in the dark; it was in reality a leap into the light. All the good work which the party has since been able to achieve for the country and the Empire has been due to this wise and brilliant measure, which gave Toryism a new lustre, and the working man a new conception of Toryism.

XV

Disraeli and the Tory Working Man

How real was the danger which England had escaped was shown by the menacing spirit which continued to reign for a few years. It was in 1871, the year of the Commune, that Sir Charles Dilke gave expression to the temper of the Radical and Socialistic proletarist in the memorable speech at Bristol, in which he announced himself a republican. Significantly enough, Marx and the International hastened to requite this service to the cause of the social revolution, by bestowing on Sir Charles Dilke the dubious honour of admission to their association.[1]

[1] 'He has received a due reward in the applause of every revolutionary faction in the kingdom, and in admission as an honorary member to the International Society.'—*The Times*, December 30, 1871.

But the lion's claws were drawn. The insurrection of the Paris Commune, and the Spanish Anarchist-Communist outbreak, shocked the nation and disgusted the working men. The International, so seriously compromised in both affairs, fell into bad odour, and the whole Socialist movement of Europe steadily sank into stagnation and chaos.[1] By 1874 the storm-period was past in England, and Disraeli, returned to power by the votes of the Conservative working men, inaugurated the six golden years of Toryism which formed so important a stage in the development of the Tory National Party.

The service which Disraeli rendered to Europe in carrying the Reform Bill of 1867 was incalculable. His magical insight into the international situation led him to perform one of the highest of all acts of statesmanship—that of averting a crisis towards which events were steadily leading. In the second insurrectionary epoch, English statesmen — prudent, but tardy—had taken the contrary course in refusing to pass the first great Reform Bill until two years after

[1] Herr E. Bernstein, the leader of the German Revisionist Socialists, writes thus of the European decline of the Socialist movement :—'In nearly every country it still suffered from the reverses which had been brought about by the defeat of the Paris Commune, the dissolution of the International Workers' Association, the exceptional laws against Social Democracy in Germany, and the commercial depression which lasted from the middle of the seventies. Those who have come after can only with difficulty put themselves into the position which existed at that time.'—*Socialist Review*, April 1908. Herr Bernstein, in this article, seems to have some perception of the rise and fall of the proletarian revolutionary tide with which the progress and decline of the Socialist movement are so intimately connected.

the Revolution of July. Disraeli, warned by the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the throwing-down of Hyde Park railings, saw into the revolutionary storm which was brewing over Europe, and acted three years before the explosion came.

From 1874 to 1880 England, secure in the loyalty of the Tory working man, was able to look calmly across the North sea at the strange spectacle of Germany, invincible in arms but also inflexible in politics, a prey to the dangers of a defiant Socialist agitation. England acted as ballast to Europe throughout the troubles of 1871-78, which would assuredly have spread like the contagion of 1848, had this country been simultaneously in the throes of a British and Irish insurgence. From both an international and a historic point of view, the Tory Reform Bill—the political charter of the working classes—was incomparably the greatest English measure since the French Revolution.

XVI

Radicals and Land Nationalisation

In all these four periods we have seen the English proletarian movement rising and falling with the general tide of European democracy. Four times in succession there have been great storms of popular feeling in Great Britain, and the menace or fact of insurrection in Ireland. On all occasions the risings of the people have been met by large military or

political measures, or by both together. Twice the insurgence has been brought to a stop by an array of armed force; three times great political and economic reforms have cut the ground from beneath the feet of the seditious and inaugurated new eras in the national life.

The last proletarian epoch—that at whose culmination we have arrived in 1909—dates from 1881-2. At that time, as I have shown elsewhere, the leaders of the Commune, who had been let loose on society to continue their agitation, began to draw together the scattered and broken threads of the proletarian movement of Europe, and to encourage, by their renewed activity, the drooping spirits of the German Social Democrats. In England the conditions were highly favourable to the renascence of the social revolutionary movement. Lord Beaconsfield's memorable government had fallen in 1880. Mr. Gladstone had ushered in an orgy of Radicalism with his Midlothian campaign. In Ireland the Land League, later the National League, had begun its organisation of the No-Rent Campaign. In South Africa, Paul Kruger had been proclaimed President of the South African Republic, and the Majuba defeat had been followed by the Gladstonian surrender. A turbulent and violent spirit was abroad, and the feeling of the proletariat against the middle class was bitter in the extreme.

It has been remarked in an earlier chapter that the English Socialist movement reappeared after a normal period of stagnation, under the inspiration of Henry George's land nationalisation scheme, the teach-

ing of Marx, and the Irish agrarian movement. These events were not, of course, the causes, but the occasions of the English revival. The cause lay far deeper, in the laws governing the ebb and flow of the proletarian tide of Europe. The tide was now turning; and the facts mentioned above, together with the renewed activity of the Paris Communists and the rekindling of the German Social Democracy, were simply the surface signs of the flowing of the great European current.

The influence of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* was naturally great. Published in 1881 in both London and Berlin, the book achieved the dazzling success which, in social reform epochs, commonly attends the preaching of a paradox in the guise of a panacea. George's doctrine was a limited form of Communism or Socialism. The famous single-tax scheme was a plan to appropriate land-values for the social benefit; or, in other words, to expropriate landowners in the interests of humanity. It was a reproduction of the standard Socialistic doctrine of surplus value as applied to land, and possessed the pleasing feature that all taxes, except one mighty impost on land-values, were to be abolished. In brief, the landowner was to pay every one else's taxes as well as his own—a highly satisfactory arrangement for all who were not landowners. The success which this naïve and sweeping economic proposal obtained in Radical circles was a disquieting proof of the failure of the elementary Education Acts. It had, however, a graver character, as will appear later. A land nationalisation

movement grew from this period, and formed a convenient halfway station for the Radicals who were indisposed to accept the whole Marxian doctrine, or incapable of understanding it.

Socialist leaders, while ably appropriating all the surplus value of this political movement, have demonstrated the illogicality of nationalising land or land-values, but not the produce of land—of confiscating the landowner's property but not the house-owner's or the factory-owner's. The land nationalisation movement, and the agitation for the taxation of land-values, have formed effective connecting-links between Radicalism and Socialism. The movement found political expression through the medium of the Land Nationalisation Society, which has carried on an energetic propaganda from 1882 to the present. This society has acted throughout as a true 'Progressive' organisation; which is to say, as a recruiting force for Socialism.

XVII

The Parent Society

The Social Democratic Federation was the first definitely Socialist organisation in the field. Formed originally as a Democratic League, and next taking the style of the Democratic Federation, it dates its official existence from January 1, 1882, though meetings had been held for twelve months beforehand. It was a combination of Radical societies, English and Scottish, and its Labour programme, written by Mr. Hyndman

in 1881, was founded on Marx's *Capital.* The first Socialist manifesto of the Federation was issued at Easter 1882.

In order to arrive at a true understanding of any political movement, it is of cardinal importance, as we have already seen, to ascertain its parentage and descent. Therefore, having regard to the pacific professions of some contemporary Socialists, the fact is significant that the present Socialist movement as a distinct, avowed, and independent political form, traces its descent from a revolutionary organisation.

There were in 1882, and there are to-day, numerous Socialistic forces tributary to the Socialist movement, such as the Land Nationalisation agitation already mentioned. But organised Socialism proper — the political movement which advocates the socialisation of the means of production as a whole, and consciously strives for the foundation of the Socialist State — comes on the scene at this epoch with the formation of the Social Democratic Federation. To say that the Federation was the pioneer society is not to say that it embraced all the Socialist elements of its time; but it was undoubtedly the political base of Socialism at the period, and it has since shown, by its unbroken existence, its inflexible principles, and its growth, that it is a true political expression of the social revolutionary movement in this country. It is recognised at the International Socialist Congresses as the backbone of British Socialism.

The Social Democratic Federation took a memorable step in 1884. When the great cotton strike of that

year was in progress, and thousands of the trade-union operatives were idle in the streets, the society arranged a mass meeting of working men at Blackburn. Mr. Hyndman, William Morris, and other speakers travelled down to address the strikers on the subject of Socialism; and the men, unoccupied, indignant against their employers, and filled with a sense of grievance against society in general, listened eagerly to the new doctrine of scientific spoliation. The meeting was a great success, and its result was the foundation of the first Lancashire branch of the Social Democratic Federation at Blackburn—for which constituency Mr. Philip Snowden now sits. In this way the Socialist fire was set burning in Lancashire, where Socialism has now its strongest hold—an ominous fact for those who believe that 'what Lancashire says to-day England thinks to-morrow.' The procedure of the Federation has been repeated many times since. Whenever there is discontent in the North, the Socialists appear on the spot to foment the trouble and point out that Socialism is the only hope of the workers.

Messrs. Hyndman, Belfort Bax, Herbert Burrows, Quelch, and, for a time, William Morris, may be described as the protagonists of the Social Democratic movement. Of these, Mr. Hyndman—the central figure from the first—was a convinced republican and revolutionary Socialist as early as 1881. In the same year Mr. Belfort Bax, a revolutionary Socialist with a great admiration for the Paris Communist school, wrote an enthusiastic exposition of the Marxian system.

William Morris was so extreme a revolutionist that he developed Anarchist tendencies and left the Federation to found an Anarchist-Socialist organisation, the Socialist League. Mr. Bax accompanied William Morris, but subsequently returned to the Federation, and was an early editor of *Justice*, the Social Democratic organ. Mr. Quelch, the present editor of *Justice*, formerly a Radical-Republican, and Mr. Burrows, the recent Socialist candidate for Haggerston, have signalised themselves by their outspoken propagandism of Marxian confiscatory Socialism.

Among other early Social Democrats we may note Mr. Hunter Watts, a Republican of the barricadist school; Mr. H. W. Lee, a Radical-Republican, who became secretary of the Federation; Mr. Jack Williams, the 'typical proletaire' and Fenian sympathiser; and Mr. Tom Mann, the pro-Anarchist.

Nothing, therefore, could be more clearly established than the revolutionary character of the parental Socialist organisation. The Social Democrats took up in England the mantle of the International and the creed of the Paris Communists of 1871. They have continued to wear the one and preach the other from 1882 to 1909. The Social Democratic Party may be charged with sedition and treasonable conspiracy, but it cannot be accused of dishonesty. Its doctrines and aims differ in no important respect from those of Marx and the Communist League in 1848. The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* demanded the complete overthrow of existing social conditions; the Social Democratic Party makes the same demand

to-day. It is the organ of the militant, logical, and unflinching Socialist orthodoxy.

It has consistently taught that the capitalists live and thrive upon the robbery of the working class by the appropriation of surplus value; and, teaching this, it has also held steadfastly to the doctrine and practice of the Class War. It advocates the socialisation of the means of production, not solely on its merits as a paying economic policy, or as a process in scientific harmony with the economic evolution of society, but, first of all, as an act of justice and restitution to the defrauded proletariat. It is a party of Socialists—not a combination of Socialists, Socialistics, and Labourists. Its object is to bring about the Social Revolution by all accessible means, not excluding the use of armed force.

XVIII

Rise of English Socialism

The years 1882-1885 were fruitful ones for the renascent Socialist movement, which thrived in the same atmosphere as that which vitalised Radicalism, the Home Rule campaign, the National League, Fenianism, and Little Englandism—five several forms of the mutiny against the constitutional order of the country. Mrs. Besant, that strange feminine Meister whose *wanderjahr* is never ended, and whose career is consistent in nothing but rebellion, became a convert to Socialism, and started a propagandist publication,

Our Corner. The Guild of St. Matthew, originally formed, like the Social Democratic Federation, as a radical democratic league, became a Socialistic society in 1884. A considerable Socialistic literature sprang up in the same period, and, in general, Socialist activity was abundant.

The current of Socialism set in motion by the Social Democratic Federation had been running strongly for two years when a new kind of political organisation appeared on the scene. The Fabian Society was formed in 1884, and inaugurated a remarkable career of subtlety and success. Its founders were advanced Radicals who saw that Liberalism needed a new policy, a definite goal towards which to progress. They held that the policy must be economic—the chief political ends of Radicalism having been attained in the extension of the franchise and the passing of the Ballot Act—and that the goal must be Socialism. This view, which the Fabian Society has consistently held, is in perfect accordance with the view of the proletarian movement set forth in the previous section. It has been shown that this great European insurgence is a half-conscious, half-unconscious striving for the communisation of property and the equality of rights. In times of reaction, when the rights have been withdrawn—as in the 1830 period—the political side of the movement is uppermost, the conquest of political equality being the necessary prelude to economic equality. But when the political ends have been gained, the economic objective comes straightway into sight.

SOCIALIST MAP OF LONDON

Independent Labour Party branch ○	Social Democratic Party branch ●	Labour Church □
Fabian Society branch ▲	Local Socialist Society △	Socialist Party of G^t Br^n branch #
Socialist Labour Party branch ∴	Socialist Sunday School +	Clarion Fellowship or Social Club ♦
Local Government bodies in which Socialist Councillors have seats ■	Constituencies represented by Socialist Labour M.Ps ■	Constituencies for which Socialist Labour Candidates have stood for election. 1906 - 1909 ▨
New Constituencies for which Socialist Lab^r Candidates have been selected ▨		

PLATE VI.

The Fabians, who had arrived at Socialism in 1884 by way of land nationalisation,[1] clearly perceived that the Radical party had arrived at this period; though they saw it as an isolated fact, and not as a stage in the Communisation movement. When they turned to Marx, they were enlightened and pleased by the Marxian criticism, and ready to accept the Marxian policy of the socialisation of the means of production. But the Marxian historic synthesis dismayed them. The firm insistence on the Class War as the very foundation of the economic doctrine, the teaching that Capitalism was based upon wage-slavery, and the logical deduction that the wage-slaves were justified in freeing themselves from oppression by a great revolutionary act—these things terrified the souls of the Fabians who, as the name of this society indicates, were less endowed with heart than with head.

They decided to accept the policy of Socialisation, but not the thesis of Social Struggle of which it is the complement. They swallowed the conclusion, but boggled at the premises. They embraced the effect, but were determined to ignore the cause; and they set themselves to preach the end, without realising that he who says end also says means. They advocated the appropriation of rent, profit, and interest, without admitting to themselves or the world that the doctrine of surplus value was a doctrine of the universal and age-

[1] 'In 1882 the more advanced Radicals had been converted by *Progress and Poverty* to the creed of Land Nationalisation. . . . Most of these, seeing the insufficiency of Land Nationalisation alone, were becoming Socialists. These started the Fabian Society.'—*Labour Annual*, 1897.

long robbery of the working class by an exploiting class—the capitalists.

XIX

Fabianism and Liberalism

The Fabians were in a false position. Their aim was to convert the Liberal party to Socialism, and they have never since ceased their efforts to provide it with a Socialist policy.[1] Their difficulty lay in the fact that, however ripe the Radical rank and file might be for a move in this direction, however inevitable the evolution from Radicalism to Socialism might be, the party contained a number of capitalists in its ranks, and was, in fact, financed by them. To preach the Class War to the Radical working men was obviously to divide the party against itself. In these circumstances the Fabian Society adopted a policy which has been recognised as one of craft by non-Socialists and Socialists alike—the policy of permeation.

Their procedure in relation to the Liberal party was that of a Radical group or league. They did not want to destroy the party; they wanted to capture it. To have opposed the party in the electoral field would have been suicidal from their point of view. Therefore they continually strove to convert the followers and to

[1] The Reformers' Year Book for 1905 shows that the chief occupation of the Fabian Society, apart from routine work in the previous year, was the attempt to devise a constructive policy for the Liberal Party.

egg on the leaders; to commit and entangle the Parliamentary party; to influence Liberal policy; to indoctrinate Liberal candidates and members of Parliament; to force the party into positions leading inevitably to Socialism—in all which efforts they have been signally successful.[1] The Fabians dreaded the logical and determined Socialism of the Social Democratic Federation. As against the Social Democrats, they endeavoured to protect the Liberal and Radical party from the dangerous political consequences of the Class War doctrine. As against the Liberal capitalists, they endeavoured to weaken their power by winning away from them the support of the Radical working men. The situation was a delicate one, and required a display of dexterity, not to say treachery, which is commonly thought to be foreign to English politics. The consequences might have been foreseen: the Fabians have hopelessly com-

[1] The revelations of Socialist about Socialist are always valuable. Engels, who was well informed on what was passing behind the scenes, wrote to Sorge on January 18, 1893, in the following terms: 'The Fabians here in London are a band of ambitious folk who have sufficient understanding to comprehend the inevitableness of the social revolution, but who cannot trust this gigantic work to the rough proletarian alone, and therefore have the kindness to place themselves at the head of it. Dread of the revolution is their fundamental principle. They are the cultured *par excellence*. Their socialism is municipal socialism—the commune, not the nation, shall at least be the possessor of the means of production. This Socialism of theirs is then presented as an extreme but inevitable consequence of middle-class Liberalism, and thence their tactics are to fight the Liberals not as decided opponents but to drive them on to socialistic consequences; therefore to trick them, to permeate Liberalism with Socialism, and not to oppose Socialist candidates to Liberal ones, but to palm them off, to thrust them on, under some pretext.'—*Socialist Review*, March 1908.

promised the Liberal party in Socialism, and have themselves been hopelessly compromised in the social revolution.[1]

XX

The Trafalgar Square Riots

The results of the Socialist agitation were quickly apparent among the working classes. Both Ireland and England were in a ferment, the proletarian insurgence making its appearance in both countries simultaneously, with local variation, as in the four previous epochs. Such was the spirit of the time that the Socialists imagined they were to win almost out of hand, certainly within a few years, by a great social revolutionary movement. Assuredly the temper of the proletariat, inflamed as it was by Gladstonian Radicalism, was menacing enough for almost any eventuality. But the Socialists ignored one of the dominant laws governing the progress of their own movement—the law of recuperation. It was impossible for them to force the pace, and capture the social citadel by a *coup de main*, so soon after the last European ferment. It was necessary for them to go through years of propaganda work: to build up an extensive literature and a political organisation; to indoctrinate the workers throughout the country in a complete course of Socialism. The temper sufficed,

[1] 'Even the Fabian basis has implications which are ultra-revolutionary.'—Kirkup, *History of Socialism*.

but the time was not ripe. The last storm-period had only come to an end in Germany in the years 1878-1881; and the whole history of the proletarian movement proves that the next general European insurgence could not be expected until after the lapse of a considerable interval of recuperation. In 1884 the work of general propaganda had made nothing more than a beginning; and the northern provinces, where the strength of the movement was to lie, were an almost untilled field.

In 1885 the Social Democrats held demonstrations in London, and came into conflict with the police—a favoured proceeding with revolutionary organisations. Society began to have some perception of the true nature of the new democratic force with which it was faced.[1] Trade was bad, and the masses of the unemployed supplied the Social Democratic Federation with the material it needed to work on. Lord Salisbury resigned, and Mr. Gladstone took office on February 1,

[1] The *Times* at this period contained a passage of notable prescience on the composition of the movement. 'Less gratifying to those who believe in cautious and orderly progress is the appearance of Democratic Socialism of the Continental type in this country. The Dock Street demonstration and the Hyde Park protest against the action of the police and magistrates, were in themselves significant; but looked at in connection with the proceedings of the National party in Ireland and the crofters' agitation in Scotland, as well as some of the doctrines preached by politicians calling themselves Advanced Liberals, they portend the appearance of a new force in politics.' In thus grouping together Socialism, Rationalism, the agrarian movement, and Advanced Liberalism as one political whole, the writer of this passage showed sound political judgment. These four forces are, in fact, true forms of the proletarian insurgence.

1886. The Social Democrats acted at once. They set themselves at the head of the unemployed, and assumed the right of negotiating with the police and the Government on equal terms. A great demonstration was called for February 8 in Trafalgar Square, and masses of roughs, criminals, Socialists, and genuine unemployed assembled in answer to the summons. Worked up to the pitch of violence by Socialist speakers, the proletarians of the East End swept in a raging mob from the Square through Pall Mall and St. James's Street. Thence they went to Hyde Park and paraded some of the principal West End streets. Jewellers' shops were looted, well-dressed men and women were assaulted and robbed, and the West End was given over for a time to mob violence and plunder. This amazing and unexpected spectacle in the Capital created a profound impression. Not only was there a state of panic lasting some days, but, for the first time in many years, the English people realised the dangers and vast possibilities of the proletarian movement.

The whole incident was typical of the Socialist tactics and position. It should be observed that the circumstances of the time—in particular the state of unemployment—were, independently of the Socialist efforts, favourable to an outbreak. The movement was there: the Socialists took advantage of it. In the first place they fomented the trouble by assuring the unemployed and the unemployable that their condition was due to their exploitation by the capitalists; next, when the movement was consolidated, they constituted

themselves its leaders. In times of peace and times of trouble alike, the aim of the Socialists is to fit a Socialist head to a working-class body. Only a small minority of the demonstrators in the Square were actually Socialists; but, distributed among the crowd, they gave it direction. Had Socialism been as powerful and well organised then as it is now, the consequences would unquestionably have been far more terrible.

A prosecution was instituted against some of the Socialist leaders, and it is significant, in the light of later events, that the case was conducted by the Radical Attorney-General, Sir Charles Russell, in such a half-hearted and unsatisfactory manner that the accused were acquitted. Sir Charles Russell was generally believed to have been 'riding for a fall.' The attitude of the Liberal party towards the Socialists was further elucidated by a speech delivered at Nottingham in 1887 by Mr. Gladstone, then out of office. He suggested that the people had a right to determine whether police interference was justified, and to meet their interference with resistance.

There was further trouble in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, November 13, 1887—'Bloody Sunday' as it is termed in the Socialist Calendar; but on this occasion a Tory Government was in power. Troops were called out, the rioting was sternly suppressed, and Sir Charles Warren, at the head of the police, prohibited further meetings. In all these street disturbances, it is interesting to note, the Fabian Society stood apart. It did not sympathise with them, but it could not stop them; and its leaders have worked in conjunction

with their instigators since. Thus it is evident that, although a particular Socialist society may advocate non-revolutionary methods, it can have no influence over, and must in fact co-operate with, those who uphold the policy of violence.

The part played in outbreaks at this period by a working-man leader, Mr. John Burns, is too well remembered to need further mention at this point. Rightly punished, in conjunction with Mr. Cunninghame Graham, under a Tory ministry, he has since been rewarded by a post in the Liberal Cabinet.

XXI

The Epoch of Expansion

The British Socialist movement, by now firmly rooted among the working classes, entered on a new stage of expansion in 1889. In this year it secured a strong foothold in two entirely new directions, and initiated that policy of capturing the Trade Unions on the one hand and the municipalities on the other which has since been pursued with so much success, and has enhanced so greatly the general menace of the movement.

In either case the Socialists astutely turned a favourable current of public opinion to their own advantage: in one instance, the sympathy of the public with the hardships and poverty of the dock-workers' life; in the other, the general desire for a reform of the municipal system, for which the Tory Government under Lord

Salisbury had provided the basis in the Local Government Act of 1888. The results should teach well-meaning persons the danger and costliness of sympathising with Socialists.

The great London Dock Strike of 1889 involved more than 100,000 men. It was conducted on behalf of the strikers by Messrs. John Burns and Ben Tillett, and the demands preferred—a wage of 6d. an hour (the 'docker's tanner') and the abolition of the contract system of labour—seemed so reasonable that, with public opinion behind them, the men won. The 'New Unionism'—an important political movement in the world of labour, which has pursued its course almost unobserved and quite uncomprehended by the general public—had its birth in this event; and the fact that the Labour Party is sitting in Parliament to-day is wholly due to it.

The New Unionism stands for the combined, effective, political action of the Trade Unions, as against the old sectional and ineffective action. Before this period, the political representation of organised labour had been confined to the Trade Union Congress and the little group of Liberal-Labour members of Parliament. The Congress, founded in 1868—at the height of the previous proletarian epoch—had met year after year, and had passed resolutions on all subjects of the day without being able to enforce its demands. It was in the main a Liberal body; and the delegates followed Mr. Gladstone with that species of adoration which was the feature of the proletarian movement of the period.

Previous to 1889 the Gladstonian word was the Trade Unionist law. But the defeat of the Home Rule Bill broke the charm of the great demagogue, and the new Unionists were able to challenge the system under which the Trade Union representatives were never more than the humble admirers and helots of the Liberal Lucifer. The new Unionists were not content to see Labour representatives running through the lobbies faithfully at the bidding of the Whig party whips. They wanted the section of Labour representatives to be larger and more compact; able to make their own terms, not forced to accept the Liberal leaders'. They wished to construct a distinct Labour policy, and to give Labour a new importance.

The New Unionism was largely synonymous with Socialism. Necessarily so, because the more advanced Radicals had already been converted, either to Socialism or to Land Nationalisation, and again because there was more opening for the active spirits in the new form of Labour organisation than the old. The Trade Union Congress, and the unions which it represented, became battle-grounds for the perpetual strife between the new Unionism and the old; in which the new Unionism made perpetual advances, and the old Unionism perpetual retreats and compromises. In these skirmishes the Socialist working men, taking a leaf from their leaders' book, displayed an unexpected aptitude for intrigue and dissimulation, which has become one of the most strongly marked features of the Socialist-Labour movement. The struggle between the two factions has been largely a war of ruse and

stratagem, in which wit and policy have been pitted against numbers and tradition. This strife continued without any decisive outcome from the year of the Dock Strike to 1893, when the Independent Labour Party was formed.

XXII

Municipal Socialism Arrives

The year 1889 marks the beginning of a revolution in British politics—a revolution for which both great parties must share the blame. Lord Salisbury's Local Government Act, which came into force in this year, was unquestionably the cause of the Socialistic evils, political and economic, which have spread so disastrously in the past twenty years. The Local Government Act was a bad Act, which has caused the Unionist party endless trouble since 1889; and Lord Salisbury showed as little insight into its consequences as political judgment in supervising its drafting.

The powers bestowed on the municipalities by this Act were far too great. Local authorities were allowed to build, acquire land, embark on production and transport, borrow money, levy unlimited rates, and hypothecate the taxable capacity of the citizens to any amount. Within their local limits they had almost sovereign financial powers; and though their borrowings were subject to the approval or veto of the Local Government Board, the powers of the central govern-

ment were feeble and shadowy, while those of the municipalities were real.

The Local Government Act of 1888 was, in fact, a great Home Rule scheme for municipalities. Its effect was to cut the country up into a large number of petty states, and the ruinous results which have sprung from it are a sufficient condemnation of its unstatesmanlike provisions. The introduction of this measure was a distinct blow to the central government, which must regain its powers in the near future, or sink slowly but steadily into desuetude.

The Socialists sprang on the newly created administrations with the instinct of the parasite. Lord Salisbury, adding tactical folly to political unwisdom, advised his followers not to contest the Council elections on party grounds. By this error he disorganised the Conservatives at a time when the Socialists and their allies were particularly aggressive; and the result in London—where the fight was most important—was that the Conservatives, disguised as Moderates, were beaten by a Radical-Socialist combination running under the name of Progressives. And beaten they stayed until 1906, when the Anti-Socialist campaign rescued the Reformers from the consequence of their own errors and placed them in power with a heavy majority.

To appreciate the position of the Socialist movement from 1889 onwards, it is necessary to remember that Socialism henceforward took two distinct forms, which advanced side by side. First, there was the strictly Socialist organisation, as before. But beyond

this, and co-operating with it, was a great force of Radical and Socialistic councillors, who accepted the Socialist ideal as an inspiration, but were not inclined to accommodate the pace of their advance to the exacting requirements of the revolutionary section. Both in London and the provinces these joint bodies worked together as Progressives; and it was well understood by them—though not realised by their opponents—that the Progress desired was Progress towards Socialism.

From these local centres ideas of social ownership, social industry, and social organisation spread through the length and breadth of the country. Within the space of a few years the process of permeation had achieved remarkable results. The local authorities —whether under Conservative or Radical-Socialist control—were competing madly with one another in expenditure and municipal trading: rates were rising, assessments were rising, commitments were rising—and the process of Socialisation by instalments was being carried out with thoroughness and despatch.

XXIII

The London County Council

It is open to question whether the nation yet realises the whole terrible effect of this pernicious race to ruin, or appreciates the far-reaching significance of the London County Council victory of 1907, which checked Municipal Socialism, and gave the

Anti-Socialist forces encouragement and breathing time for an advance on parliamentary and labour Socialism.

Let it suffice to recall the fact that, under this system of Municipal Socialism, the annual local expenditure of the country advanced from £67,000,000 in 1889-90, to £163,000,000 in 1904-5—an increase of nearly a hundred millions sterling per annum in the short space of fifteen years. At the same time the local debt has grown from approximately £240,000,000 in 1890-1 to about £650,000,000 in 1909. For this debt some kind of case can be made out, though that case, at best, is a bad one: the fact that there are some assets to set off against this vast amount is no comfort in view of the serious effect of withdrawing £400,000,000 from profitable private enterprise in eighteen years. But for the increase in annual expenditure of nearly £100,000,000 in fifteen years, it is impossible to find any valid excuse. Such a growth of expenditure is new in the annals of the world. In itself it constitutes the revenue of a first-class State, and the men who are responsible for it, whatever their politics, deserve to be driven with contumely from public life.

The Fabian Society has been closely identified with the system of Municipal Socialism from its inception in 1889. Leading Fabians, such as Sidney Webb and Graham Wallas, obtained seats on the London County Council; and secured the co-operation of a new school of municipal politicians from M'Dougall to M'Kinnon Wood. They were supported by the *Municipal*

Journal, and its founder Robert Donald, the Socialistic editor of the *Daily Chronicle*. Mr. Bernard Shaw and the Radical-Socialist press lent their aid, and a Socialistic programme was evolved, which included the heavy taxation of land values on the principle of confiscation by instalments; the extension of municipal works and trading, and the consequent recruitment of an army of paid voters; extended powers for the London County Council; housing schemes; the equalisation of rates, by which every borough would be encouraged in spending by having the whole purse of London behind it; the control of the metropolitan police; and other items of the kind.

In all this programme, and in all the work of the Progressive party on the Council, there was not one item which was not favourable to Socialism. It is remarkable, moreover, that the Council should have adopted the principles and the spirit of the Commune of Paris with such fidelity. Like the Commune, the Council fell into a state of permanent friction with Parliament, and insolently demanded the forces which would have enabled it to control the capital. It pauperised the workers and penalised the better-class householders. It was riddled with a refined form of corruption in the form of nepotism: and it essayed to dominate the life of the people of London, much as the Hébertists did in Paris in 1793. The resemblance to the French model was completed at the election of 1907, when the London Socialists of the Independent Labour Party—followers of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who never ceases to maintain that he and his party

stand for a pacific solution—daringly demanded that the Council should assume the name and functions of a virtually sovereign Commune.

XXIV

Founders of the I.L.P.

The Independent Labour Party, though founded at Bradford, was first discussed at Glasgow. Its leaders were mainly Fabians of the original Radical-Socialist type, who were dissatisfied with the Fabian tactics, and sought a great opportunity for action and success in the field of Labour. Messrs. Keir Hardie and Tom Mann were the early wire-pullers of the new party, and they were subsequently joined by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who found too many clever men in the Fabian Society, and, like a good Socialist, was looking for a sphere of action free from the evils of excessive competition.

The policy adopted by the Independent Labour Party had a distinctly Fabian or Jesuitic character. It was, in the main, the policy of entanglement or involution first employed by Marx on the *International* Since the mountain would not come to Mahomet, Mahomet would go to the mountain. The Social Democratic Federation was inviting the mountain of Trade Unionism to come over and embrace the Socialist creed. As that policy was not wholly successful, the Independent Labour Party leaders adopted the contrary principle of going to the Trade

Unionists and inviting their co-operation in the cause of Labour.

Of the three men who made the party, Keir Hardie was a madman with flashes of the true revolutionary insight. No one sees more clearly than he that the progress of Socialism depends on the rising of a proletarian wave, and that the ultimate objective of the movement is Anarchist-Communism. Tom Mann was an artisan with a natural gift of inferior rhetoric. His greatest claim to distinction is as the promoter of the ca' canny policy—a subtle combination of robbery, malingering, and baseness which many Socialist workmen have practised, and still practise with success. Ramsay Macdonald was a Shand with a talent for political organisation. All three men had a genius for intrigue; all three were equally truthful, refined, and modest.

The party was not so respectable in its early years as it has become since Mr. Macdonald aspired to ministerial rank in the Liberal party. Messrs. Keir Hardie and Tom Mann were given to making reckless speeches and doing reckless acts. When the party was young the leaders were not only willing but anxious to welcome the Continental Anarchist as a friend, and they were not ashamed of the Class War doctrine which they now disclaim on the public platform and wink at in the branch meeting. A great international Socialist Congress was held in London in 1896, and much feeling was aroused over the demand of the Anarchists to enter and take part. There were numerous Continental Socialists, who, revolutionaries

as they were, drew the line at Anarchism, and protested against the association. But two British Socialists rose in their places and pleaded for the admission of the foreign Anarchists into the Congress on fraternal grounds. These were Messrs. Keir Hardie and Tom Mann. Thus Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has succeeded in maintaining, through his colleagues, relations with alien Anarchists on one hand and eminent Liberals like Mr. Haldane on the other.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the sordid revolutionary details of the youth of the Independent Labour Party. Suffice it to note that the association with the Trade Unionists prospered. The arrangement made with them showed the Socialist leaders to be possessed of business instincts of the most enviably individualistic character. There was an equitable distribution of functions between the two parties. The Trade Unionists paid and followed, while the Socialists received and led. It must always stand to the credit of Mr. Keir Hardie that he first successfully proved that a Socialist shilling and a Trade Unionist pound make a good Labour guinea; and it is worthy of remembrance that Mr. Macdonald, comparatively rich man as he is, showed no false pride in dealing with his humble friends in the Labour movement, but accepted their pence without the least abatement of his principles in favour of the equalisation of wealth.

These founders of the Independent Labour Party were joined by an Anarchist named Bruce Glasier,

who wrote revolutionary songs glorifying bloodshed and chanting the praise of the Chicago Anarchists, Spies, and Parsons. Mr. Glasier was appropriately appointed to the editorship of the *Labour Leader*, the newspaper founded by Mr. Keir Hardie, and now the official organ of the Independent Labour Party.

XXV

Socialists and Trade Unionists

Under the guidance of such men—all of them new and somewhat sinister types in English politics—the new Independent Labour Party entered into a struggle for the capture of the rich and powerful Trade Unions. Its position was ambiguous from the first. The dominant influence in the Unions, and at the annual Congress, was Radical. It was necessary to win the rank and file from their Radicalism to Socialism without letting them suspect that they were changing their principles. The pretext was held out that Labour, as such, was entitled to representation in Parliament, and that the Socialists desired only to help Labour to achieve that end.

The Socialists, having secured an entry into the field, astutely divided the sheep from the goats. All the more active, ambitious, intriguing spirits were played upon, and led to employ their talents in converting or outwitting the rest. An Independent Labour Party must necessarily have an Independent Labour programme, and that programme, being the joint com-

position of Socialists with a definite aim and Trade Unionists without a guiding principle, steadily became more and more Socialistic—precisely as had happened in the history of the International. Step by step the process of entanglement was carried forward, until the time arrived when Mr. Macdonald was enabled to sum up the whole theory and policy of the party in the phrase: 'Liberalism is the spring of which Socialism is the summer.'

When that phrase is understood, the whole position of the Socialist-Labour movement in relation to the Liberal party is made clear. The Labourists are not, in effect, an independent party, but an affiliated group, with a programme of their own. They aim, not to destroy, but to detach, the rank and file. They have entered into competition with the Liberal leaders for the allegiance of their followers, and their system has been successful. Their design is to stir up a clamour in the ranks and to drive the leaders from one position to another until they are irretrievably committed to Socialism. When that event takes place, they hope to supersede the present leaders—for who should guide the fortunes of a Socialistic party but Socialists?

The Liberal leaders may writhe under the pressure of the Socialists; they may challenge them across the floor of the House, or criticise them on public platforms; they may detest the evil circumstances that force them to yield, but yield they must and do. The Socialists have established a coalition of complicity, and, like the blackmailer, they protest alternately friendship and enmity in order to extort concessions.

It is not to be supposed that this process of capturing first the Labour ranks and then the Liberal party was allowed to continue without opposition. Sound and able men in the Trade Union movement repeatedly attempted to stem the Socialist tide. Had they been united, had they stood for a principle and concerted a programme, they would have been able to hold their own. As it was, the Socialists, though numerically a small body, were compact, and were able to follow the golden maxim of war in bringing a concentrated force to bear on scattered opponents.

Their peculiar policy—according to old-fashioned ideas it was one of systematic betrayal—brought into being a remarkable race of politicians. Working-men developed the talents of Jesuits and inquisitors; they practised perfidy while they preached brotherhood. It may seem amazing that a politician of the type of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald should have dared to attempt to drive a genuine Trade Union representative like Mr. Richard Bell from the Labour ranks, or, in the alternative, force him to sign a constitution not accepted or desired by his own constituents. But this, and a number of similar incidents, were inevitable consequences of the Socialist tactics.

The battle between the Socialists and the non-Socialist Trade Unionists was fought year after year at the annual Congresses. The 'old gang,' as the Liberal Labourists were termed, were stubborn, but not united. Their resistance was admirable, but they lacked the driving force of an aggressive principle. Again and again the Congress made futile attempts to

throw off the Socialists who preyed on it; but in vain. The New Unionism won the day, and a joint conference between representatives of the congress and members of the Socialist societies was called for 1900 to consider the question of independent Labour organisation.

True to their tactics, the Socialists of the Independent Labour Party refrained from demanding that the new organisation should be styled a Socialist party. It was modestly named a Labour Representation Committee, and its foremost object was to obtain an amendment of the law as interpreted in the Taff Vale judgment, under which Trade Unions were held liable to the full extent of their funds for the illegal acts of members.

XXVI

Growth of the Labour Party

The Labour Representation Committee was founded on the eve of the general election of 1900, from which it emerged with two members of Parliament. Three more were elected in the next five years; but it was not until 1906 that the Independent Labour Party, which had intrigued, organised, and pioneered the Labour Representation movement, saw the fruit of its efforts in the return of thirty Labour members at the general election of 1906.

Events since that election have unfolded with dramatic rapidity. The first step was to assume

formally the name of the Labour Party: the stage of the avowed Socialist party was obviously not yet reached. It is instructive to mark the fate of the Trade Union group, and to deduce from it the future development of the movement. After the general election this group was nearly as strong as the Labour Party itself; but again it suffered from the lack of a cohesive and driving force. By a series of clever and wholly unscrupulous manœuvres it was disintegrated and in great part absorbed.

The miners, who had fifteen representatives in the House, were invited to vote on the question of affiliation with the Labour Party. Such was the profound ignorance of political conditions prevailing in this country even then, that many non-Socialists comforted themselves with the reflection that the miners would, if affiliated, exercise a sobering and restraining influence on the Socialists. Whereas it is the fact—as our maps demonstrate—that the mining regions of England, Wales, and Scotland are the very strongholds of Socialism.

The miners' vote was duly caught, and fifteen members were added to the strength of the Labour Party in the House of Commons. But while the party was growing stronger in numbers it was also, like the International before it, progressing in principle. At the Hull Conference of 1908 the Labour Party was definitely committed to Socialism, on the motion of Mr. Victor Grayson, a declared revolutionary. A further accession of strength came immediately after the Portsmouth Conference of 1909, when the Scottish

Labour Organisation, until then independent, joined the English party. The combined organisation had a membership of 1,800,000, and forty-six representatives in the House of Commons. Thus:—

Labour Party M.P.'s, ...	31
Miners' M.P.'s, ...	15
	46
Socialist M.P.'s (Messrs. Ward and Grayson), ...	2
Total, .	48

Four Trade Union members of Parliament were thus left in an ambiguous position—Messrs. Bell, Vivian, Maddison, and Steadman. The contrast between their position in 1909 and 1905 was significant. In the Parliament of 1900-6 the Trade Union non-Socialist members were the representative Labour forces, and the Socialist-Labour members were a small and hardly-noticed handful. In the Parliament of 1906-9 the tables were turned: the Socialist-Labour Party was dominant, and the Trade Union group was split up and eventually absorbed.

It is highly instructive to note that, in all these changes, the Socialists in the Labour Party have held the majority. After the incorporation of the miners' members there were at least twenty-six Socialists out of forty-eight Socialist-Labour representatives. Further, a hundred and twenty Labour candidates are now

ready to take the field at a moment's notice: of these not less than seventy are Socialists.

In no conceivable circumstance can the Socialists be in a minority in the Labour Party for some years to come. They hold the organisation in the hollow of their hand, and only admit non-Socialist Trade Union representatives at will. Being admitted, the minority can do nothing—even if they dared—to check the Socialistic tendencies of the majority. Henceforward the Labour Party cannot be anything but an active agency for Socialism. The whole policy is Socialistic: there is not an item on its agenda or a step in its history which is not in the direction of Socialism. It works for the socialisation of the means of production, endeavours to heap all possible burdens on capital, and resolutely opposes any attempt to extend private property.

Its leaders may endeavour to divert attention from their aims by criticising the proposals and tactics of the revolutionary Socialists; but their objective is the Socialist State, and the difference between them and their comrades is purely a question of pace and method. The Social Democrats aim to bring about Socialism by converting the people and stirring them to revolt; the design of the Labour Socialists is to involve the legislature in Socialism in spite of itself, and to foster all the social tendencies which make for social ownership of the means of production. It is left for the country to choose between a plan of revolution and a policy of perfidy.

XXVII

The Balance of Power

One of the signs of the coming Socialist storm is seen in the extraordinary growth of Socialism in 1908-9. The Labour Party, with nearly two million members, owning Union funds to the amount of about £4,000,000 sterling, is one of the most formidable Socialist bodies in the world. It is already able, as we have seen, to contest 120 constituencies (with the aid of the Social Democrats, who will probably rejoin the party in the near future), and at its present rate of progress in organisation it will probably be able to put 160 or 180 candidates in the field at a general election in 1910. Of these candidates from 70 to 120 would be expected to win seats, according to the flow of the political tide.

The flood which helped the Liberals in 1906 floated the Socialists into Parliament; but it does not follow that the receding tide will be equally fatal to the two sections. The Socialist-Labour members are astute enough to sit in Opposition, and it is their policy to extort every possible concession from the Liberal leaders, in order ultimately to rise triumphant on the ruins of the Liberal party. Assuming that the Unionists are not able to command a substantial majority over the combined ranks of their opponents after the next general election, there is a distinct probability of the Socialists holding the balance of power in Parliament.

As the mere prospect of so disastrous a political event would cause a financial panic in a country so sensitive to money-market influences as England, and so wholly dependent in a financial sense on the House of Commons, it seems practically certain that the two great parties will be compelled to join hands in the near future to fight the Socialists.

It is instructive to note, as a sign of the growth of Socialism simultaneously with the decadence of Liberalism, that while the Liberal vote in the parliamentary constituencies has been falling, the Socialist vote in the municipalities has been rising. The results of the municipal elections of November 1908 were hailed as a rout of the Socialists. It is, indeed, true that the Socialists lost a certain number of seats, like the German Social Democrats, at the last general election, but just as the German Socialist vote rose from 3,000,000 to 3,250,000 at that time, so the British Socialist vote in the municipalities rose from 180,000 to 227,000.

The branches of the leading Socialist organisations have also increased in numbers. The Social Democratic Party and the Independent Labour Party together have now about 1200 branches, an addition of 400 branches in less than two years.

At the present time the Socialists are spending between £250,000 and £300,000 every year on organisation and propaganda. In a word, incredible as it may seem, they spend more money, hold more meetings, and circulate more political literature than the Liberal and Conservative parties together. These

things could not be done if there were no movement among the people corresponding to the activity of the Socialists. It is estimated that more than half a million working-men have been through the branches of the Independent Labour Party and the Social Democratic Party, and assimilated their confiscatory doctrines; and it is certain that fully 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 others have been influenced by the incessant meetings held at street corners, in branch rooms, and at public halls.

Meanwhile the extremists among the Socialists are also prospering. The Socialist Party of Great Britain, a young organisation and an offshoot from the Social Democratic Party, is spreading about London and challenging the older organisations in such districts as Battersea and Tottenham. The members are Marxians and revolutionaries, preaching the Class War. The catechumens of the party are put through a rigid course of training in the principles of their creed, which they must be prepared to defend at the risk of their liberty. What is most remarkable and disquieting about this dangerous organisation is the fact that the members are unquestionably higher-grade working-men of great intelligence, respectability, and energy. They are, as a whole, the best-informed Socialists in the country, and would make incomparable soldiers, or desperate barricadists. As revolutionaries they deserve no mercy: as men they command respect.

The Socialist Labour Party (which must not be confounded with the Socialist-Labour Party) is a Scotch-American organisation, impregnated with all

the violence and Anarchism which have long distinguished both the Glasgow and the Chicago Socialists. Related to it are the Industrial Workers of the World and the Advocates of Industrial Union—sinister groups of uncompromising revolutionaries who preach direct action by the workers united in a general federation. The ideas of these bodies are precisely those which were current in the International on the eve of the Commune of 1871. By 'direct action,' as opposed to political action, is meant the employment of sectional strikes, the general strike, and finally the forcible appropriation of the factories by the workingmen, and the expulsion of the capitalists. This organisation is one of the most dangerous in the country, as its principles must impel the members to incite mob-violence whenever there is trouble between Capital and Labour. Socialists of this type were responsible for the insult to Prince Arthur of Connaught during his visit to Glasgow in 1908.

The growth of such organisations as these is conclusive evidence of the rising tide of proletarian revolt. The evolutionary Socialists cannot restrain them, and nothing but a popular commotion or a serious riot of the unemployed is needed to provide these men with the opportunity which they want. Given that opportunity, they will assuredly outdo the Trafalgar Square rioters of 1887 in madness and pillage.

XXVIII

Liberalism Infected

We have traced contemporary Socialism in its relations with Labour, and its position in the municipalities. In both cases its course constitutes a menace to national security; but, serious as that menace is, I am disposed to think the combined dangers of the parallel movements less serious than the one which yet remains to discuss. I am about to cite evidence to show that the Liberal party is in definite alliance with the Socialists. Such an alliance has been suspected and asserted for three years, but proof has been wanting, and the story has been dismissed by patriotic and constitutional Liberals, who would be the first to revolt against such a coalition if it were clearly shown to exist.

The proofs which I shall offer will not be of the sensational order, but they will be none the less convincing on that account. I have not discovered any agreement written in blood between Mr. Asquith and Mr. Keir Hardie. The only evidence which students of politics have a right to offer, or to accept, is historical evidence. For the truth about party relations cannot be hid from those who study contemporary history in a scientific spirit of detection: and the cumulative effect of a number of circumstances and episodes, each suspicious or significant in itself, may reach the point of certainty. What I undertake to establish to the satisfaction of impartial men and conscientious Liberals

is, that a confederacy, coalition, or understanding—no matter what it be called—does in fact exist between the Liberal and the Socialist-Labour leaders; that the chief whips, in spite of any denials or evasions, countenance the arrangement, and mutually act upon it; and that it extends to the provinces, and is there carried out by the agents of the Liberal party.

The general relations of the Liberal and Socialist-Labour parties have already been discussed. The Labour party, in the first place, is gathering in the supporters of the Liberal party. The Liberal leaders, for all reasons, wish to put off the evil day when the party as a whole, to preserve its existence, must succumb to the advances of the Socialists. Thus, as we shall see, the position is that Messrs. Ramsay Macdonald and Keir Hardie are trying to jockey the Liberal leaders, while Mr. Asquith and Mr. John Burns are trying to jockey the Labour Socialists. The result: ostensible quarrels and private understandings; supporters on either side distrustful of their leaders; and the leaders pondering when the right moment will come to announce the alliance to the world.

When Mr. Bernard Shaw announced in January 1909 that the Fabians were the authors of the Newcastle Programme, his statement was repudiated with indignation by some Liberal editors, who feared the implication of Socialism, and were unaware of the facts. The statement was nearly, though not wholly, true. If we go back to the beginning we find, as previously noted, that Fabianism was an offshoot of

philosophical Radicalism, and that Social Democratism was, in the main, an offshoot of Radical republicanism. The Socialists of the eighties were, in fact, only advanced Radicals, and their hopes of progress in the direction they desired were centred in converting and annexing the Radical party. Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, which produced a lasting impression on the Radical movement, was the link between the Radical and Socialist sections. The problems of *Progress and Poverty* were in fact the two great social questions of the time. The word 'Progress' came into fashion, and the word 'Reform' became obsolescent. When the County Councils were founded, and the new school of Radical-Socialists plunged into them, the term 'Progressives' naturally and easily took the place of the term 'Reformers,' till then sacred to the cause of Radicalism.

XXIX

The First Radical-Socialist Alliance

The first definite Radical-Socialist pact was struck in 1889. Lord Salisbury advised his followers not to fight the election on political lines; whereas the Radicals and Socialists, having formed a special coalition, contested the election strictly as a party. This union was none the less significant because it was in the Municipal field. The great socialisation process is one and the same whether furthered by the national or the local government. The aims of the State Socialist, the

Municipal Socialist, and the Labour Socialist are one and the same—the communisation of the means of production. If a politician assists this process, it matters nothing whether he operates in a county council or in Imperial Parliament. It would be absurd to suppose that a man can favour the socialisation policy as a councillor and oppose it as a member of Parliament; or that a politician may leave Spring Gardens a Socialist and become a sound Individualist by walking the length of Whitehall.

Socialism is not like other political creeds: the Tariff Reformer and the Free Trader may disagree bitterly in Parliament, and yet work together in harmony on sanitation and education in a local council. But the Socialist cannot divest himself of his principles, and work for communisation here and private property there. It has been conclusively shown by the experience of all European countries that Socialists never work with others except on a policy leading towards Socialism.

The Progressive-Socialists of the London County Councils have always been well represented in Parliament. We have seen that, on the Council, their whole programme and policy were Socialistic. It follows, as the night the day, that the whole of their influence in the Liberal party must have been equally Socialistic. Otherwise they would have been continually engaged in undoing as Liberals what they were strenuously occupied in doing as Progressives.

It is, therefore, evident that for twenty years past—from 1889 to 1909—the Liberal party has contained a

strong infusion of Socialistics. But the influence in the direction of Socialism was not confined to the Progressives. A large number of the Radicals, indoctrinated by *Progress and Poverty*, became Land Nationalisers. Land nationalisation is, of course, simply a form of Collectivism or Socialism, and it is preached with that natural bias towards confiscation which is the mark of the true Socialist. Thus the Glasgow Bill for the taxation of land values was admittedly a confiscatory instrument. Socialists have pointed out the illogicality of the Land Nationalist position. Why nationalise the land, but not capital? On what rational grounds can we nationalise clay-pits, but not the bricks and the houses made from the clay? If we nationalise the land and the mines how can we refrain from nationalising the factories built on the land and stocked with machinery made from minerals and driven by minerals? Clearly, the nationalisation of the land is the first great step towards the socialisation of the means of production. As such, it forms the first item in the programmes of all Socialist organisation.

The land nationalisation movement forms the bridge between Liberalism and Socialism. Two societies—the Land Nationalisation Society and the English Land Restoration League—undertook a form of propaganda which has been imitated with much effect by Socialist bodies. Lecture vans were sent about the country spreading the doctrine of land confiscation among the peasantry and the town labourers, and attacking private property in land—the very basis of modern civilisation—with

much persistence and little scruple. The object of both associations was the appropriation of the land by the people, and the arguments used were precisely those which commend themselves to Socialists, and are employed by Socialists with equal effect to justify the appropriation of the factories by the workers. The evidence of an alliance between Radicalism and Socialism in the cause of land nationalisation is unshakable. On the one hand the land nationalisers made use of Socialist help in spreading their doctrines, delivered addresses at I.L.P. and S.D.F. branches, advertised in Socialistic publications, and in a score of ways acknowledged the common cause. On the other, we find the Land Restoration League, reconstituted as the English League for the Taxation of Land Values, with Mr. Frederick Verinder as secretary, figuring in the official Liberal Year Book with the Cobden Club and the Free Trade Council among the principal organisations having Liberal membership. The left wing of the Liberal party and the right wing of the Socialist party are, in fact, inextricably mingled.

XXX

Co-operation of the Organisations

During the past twenty years the blending of the Radical and Socialistic elements has been general. In addition to the land restoration alliance and the municipal coalition, we find on searching the records that there has been constant co-operation between

Radicals and Socialists on other grounds. There is a class of advanced politicians in London—of whom Mr. G. H. Perris, of the *Daily News* and *Daily Chronicle*, is a type—who have been active in bringing Liberals, Labourists, and Socialists into alliances in favour of peace and arbitration, against militarism, and, indeed, on any promising subjects of the hour. Mr. Perris, who is at once a Radical, a Labourist, and a Socialist, thus brought into being in 1896 a Protest Committee comprising Socialists like Sir Sydney Olivier and Mr. J. F. Green, and Liberals like Dr. Spence Watson.

During this period the Socialism of the Radicals was hardly disguised. When Mr. Macnamara, now a Liberal minister, stood for Deptford in 1895, he did so on a Radical-Labour policy which was as strongly imbued with Socialism as the policy of the Progressive Party on the London County Council. Mr. Macnamara, like Mr. Burns, has never recanted his principles since he became a minister. Both he and the President of the Local Government Board are true exponents of the progress towards Socialism.

But, apart from the policies of leading Radicals and the alliances of Radical and Socialist followers, there are official organisations in which the principle of coalition between the two forces is recognised. Reference to the Liberal Year Book shows that the New Reform Club Political Committee is officially stated to be one of the chief Liberal organisations. This official organisation is, in fact, a Liberal-Socialist body. Its honorary treasurer is the well-known

Socialist, Mr. Pethick-Lawrence, and its president is Lord Weardale (formerly the Hon. Philip Stanhope). Lord Weardale is one of the principal go-betweens of the Liberal and Socialist-Labour parties. His standing in the Liberal party is apparent from his position as President of that important Liberal body the National Reform Union. Lord Weardale is on very amicable terms with the Socialist-Labour leaders and was on the platform when Mr. Henderson, elected chairman of the Labour Party as a Trade Unionist, made the remarkable declaration that he would be prepared to contest his seat at the next election on the ground of Socialism.

The connection between Liberalism and Socialism has been maintained in other directions. The relations of the Fabian Society and the Eighty Club—the 'intellectuals' of both sections—are worthy of special note. We have already seen that the special object of the Fabian Society is to indoctrinate the Liberal Party with Socialistic ideas. With this end in view Socialist lecturers, such as Mr. Pember Reeves, have delivered addresses to the Eighty Club on Socialistic policy. As a return courtesy, Liberals like Mr. Clem Edwards have lectured to Socialists on land nationalisation. Thus a constant interchange of views between the rising men of both parties has been kept up.

This being the case, it is not surprising that Mr. Bernard Shaw should claim the authorship of the famous Newcastle Programme for the Fabian Society. This claim has been repudiated by some Liberal organs; but it is perfectly true in the sense that the Fabians in-

doctrinated the advanced Liberals, who in turn framed the programme. The Newcastle Programme was adopted by the National Liberal Federation on October 2, 1891. It contained twenty-four items, ranging from Home Rule for Ireland to the mending or ending of the House of Lords. The programme as a whole—with an exception to be noted presently—is one which would be heartily supported by all Socialists, since it embodies the principles of opposition to established institutions, and of extreme democratic government, together with a marked hostility to private property and a tendency to tax it away from the owners into the possession of the State.

The Socialism of the programme is seen in the proposal to extend the powers of the London County Council—since convicted of Socialism by an overwhelming majority of citizens—and the approval of the whole system of municipal Socialism in the demand for new compulsory powers for local authorities to acquire land for small holdings, allotments, housing schemes, and the like. The process of the socialisation of the means of production is further approved in the demand for the higher taxation of land values (admitted to be a form of confiscation by instalments by some of the supporters of the Glasgow Bill already mentioned), and in the attack on mining royalties, which is one of the staple features of the propaganda of the Social Democratic Party and other Socialist bodies. In all the Newcastle Programme there is only one item which is inconsistent with Socialism. This is the item of leasehold enfranchisement—and it is

significant of the progress which Socialistic views have made in the Radical ranks that leasehold enfranchisement has since been strenuously opposed by the Metropolitan Radical Federation.

XXXI

The Arrangement in the Constituencies

Thus it is demonstrable that—whatever the relations between leaders—there is an unquestionable alliance or coalition between the Radical and the Socialist ranks: and it becomes more and more unaccountable, as we proceed with our investigation, that ministers should ever have denied the alliance, or appealed to the country to accept Liberalism as a bar against Socialism. For the Socialists denounced by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Haldane are the daily associates and the political partners of their own followers. Is it possible that these two distinguished leaders are unaware that there are Socialists on the membership rolls of the National Liberal Club, or that Mr. Chiozza Money, a prominent Free Trade Liberal, who received support from the party funds, is an avowed Socialist, a leading member of the Fabian Society, and a party to the process of 'socialising' the Liberal party? Has Mr. Haldane forgotten his own association with Mr. Ramsay Macdonald as a contributor to the defunct *Progressive Review*?

But this alliance between the rank and file of the

two parties, it may be argued, might exist without the complicity of the leaders. Even that is doubtful; but, in any event, there is ample evidence that the understanding between the leaders is as complete as the fusion between the followers. At the general election of 1906, there were ten two-member constituencies at which a Liberal and a Socialist-Labour member stand as candidates. It is a fact that no members stand for constituencies without the knowledge and consent of the party whips; and it is notorious that negotiations were carried on locally between the Liberal and Socialist camps. All the arrangements so made must have been reported to the Liberal headquarters by the party agents, and duly approved. Thus at Bolton Messrs. Harwood (Liberal) and Gill (Labour) ran in double harness, polled an almost equal number of votes, and defeated the Conservative by a majority of four thousand. At Newcastle, a constituency with a strong Socialist vote, Mr. Hudson (Labour) and Mr. Cairns (Liberal) stood for two seats previously contested by two Liberals, and obtained more than 18,000 votes apiece. It is evident here that Liberals voted for the Labour candidate and Socialists for the Liberal candidate, impartially.

Who, if not the party whips, sanctioned the remarkable arrangement at Leicester, where Mr. Broadhurst (Liberal) and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (Socialist were returned with an almost exactly equal number of votes for two seats previously contested by two Liberals? Who caused the withdrawal of a Liberal candidate at Halifax, formerly contested by two Liberals, to let

in a Liberal, Mr. Whitley, and a Socialist of the I.L.P., Mr. Parker? How came it that a Liberal, Mr. Horner, and a republican Socialist, Mr. Philip Snowden, were invited to contest two seats against two Conservatives? Why was only one Liberal candidate put up for Norwich, in conjunction with a Socialist, Mr. Roberts, of the I.L.P.?

These are questions which can only be answered on the assumption that the chief agents of the Liberal party either promoted or sanctioned the arrangements by which Liberal candidates were elected with Socialist votes and Socialist candidates by Liberal votes. The arrangements have been the cause of much heart-burning among many moderate Liberals and extreme Socialists. The complicity of the party officials has not been, and obviously cannot be, denied: it is only too clear, by their conduct in 1906 and since—as at Newcastle by-election, when pressure was put on the Socialist-Labour party not to contest the seat against the Liberal candidate—that they deliberately held open the gate by which the Socialists entered Parliament. That this necessity was not altogether pleasant to them may be inferred from the contests between Liberals and Socialists in other constituencies: but the act is their own, and it constitutes a reluctant but definite admission that Radicalism is merging into Socialism.

XXXII

The Farce of Concealment

Nothing could be more un-English, in these circumstances, than the farce which has been enacted by certain party leaders to cover the fact of the alliance with Socialism. Mr. Asquith has declared contemptuously that he was all against going wool-gathering with the Socialists. The Master of Elibank, one of the whips, has denounced them. Mr. Haldane has challenged them to bring their Socialism on the floor of the House. Mr. Winston Churchill, like a spoilt lover, has alternately cajoled and spurned them: and Mr. Lloyd George, while veering towards Socialistic principles, has declared Socialism to be a Tory bogy. How can these party leaders reconcile their public attitude with their private relations? Can they deny that there has been an understanding between them and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, both during and since the general election of 1906?

If we glance at the subject from the Socialist side we see further signs of the coalition reflected in the resentment of the revolutionaries. Mr. Macdonald has been repeatedly charged with negotiating with the Liberal party. His betrayal of the Socialist cause and acceptance of office under a Liberal government are openly canvassed in the branches. At a Socialist meeting in North London it was openly announced that he had been offered, and had refused, a ministerial post. His denials and evasions are not believed by his own

supporters, for his own maxim, 'Liberalism is the spring of which Socialism is the summer,' perfectly explains his design towards the Liberal party, which is not to break with it, but to egg it on; not to make open war against it, but to capture it. It is the general distrust of his negotiations with the Liberal party which has caused the revolt of the Socialist extremists and the recent bitter disputes about election policy. If Mr. Macdonald has had no secret understanding with the Liberal agents, the suspicions of Messrs. Blatchford, Hyndman, Grayson, Quelch, and all the colleagues who know him best, are the more unaccountable.

There is yet the evidence of Liberal policy. While it cannot be maintained that that policy is wholly Socialistic, it can be shown that, in so far as it deals with economic problems, it is mainly so, and that every year of office sees the Liberal party more deeply committed to the process of socialising the means of production. Apart from the truckling to the Socialists in the House of Commons, which can only be explained by a secret understanding, we see that, since the framing of the Newcastle Programme, Liberal proposals have been as a whole consistent with the advance towards Socialism. The Parliament of 1906 has given us a series of Socialistic measures. The Old Age Pensions scheme was distinctly Socialistic, because it was undiscriminating and non-contributory. The Licensing Bill has been widely, and rightly, denounced as a confiscatory measure. The Time Limit proposal was a piece of pure Fabianism. The Small Holders Act is

a great step towards Socialism, since it establishes State ownership in place of private ownership, and State tenancy in place of freehold. The Town Planning Bill, though it enshrined the good principle of public supervision of town design, was otherwise vicious and Socialistic because it recognised the system of municipal ownership. The whole attitude of Mr. Lloyd George towards finance has been Socialistic, and the movement in favour of nationalising the railways shows that the Chancellor's instincts are shared by a large section of the party.

In brief, Liberalism has become hopelessly compromised in Socialism, and is now in such a position that it must either go forward and accept the whole creed and the name, or must resolutely retrace its steps and launch out in a new direction. The latter alternative, to the political mind, is so intolerable, that many men, even of the more moderate school, will prefer to accept the former, and trust to destiny and the common sense of the people to save the country.

XXXIII

Nationals *v.* Progressives

Such is the position, and it is indeed a hopeless one. To see the great Liberal party, the instrument of freedom in the past, become the agency of economic slavery in the future, will be a depressing spectacle to those who recall the fervour of the Midlothian cam-

paign and the great days of Gladstonianism. Yet the die is cast, and a large section of the party will undoubtedly go forward along the road that leads to Socialism. The Progressive Party — that Radical-Socialist coalition for whose united action in by-elections Liberal newspapers and Liberal candidates now fervently appeal—must accept the principle of Socialism as its guiding rule, because it has no other with which to face the economic problems of the day. In so doing, it will necessarily lose the support of the more conservative members of the party, who, committed as they are by all their traditions to the system of private ownership, must come over to that party which alone will defend that system to the end.

The knowledge that the Liberal-Socialist alliance has been concealed by methods hitherto regarded as more Socialistic than Liberal can hardly fail to hasten the process of cleavage. It has been shown that Liberalism is committed to Socialism in the municipalities, in the land movement, and in Parliament; by joint organisations, by interchange of views and opinions, by arrangements in the constituencies, and by co-operation in many fields. A number of men and newspapers serve the two movements impartially. Politicians of the class of Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Weardale, Mr. J. H. Whitley, M.P., Sir Edwin Cornwall, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. G. H. Perris, Mr. Chiozza Money, Mr. F. Verinder, Mr. Masterman, Mr. Sidney Webb, Mr. Robert Donald, Mr. Clem Edwards, Mr. Arthur Henderson, are at once Radicals and Socialists. Newspapers of the stamp of the *Daily News*

which has proclaimed itself at once an organ of Socialism and the leading Liberal paper, and the *Daily Chronicle*, which runs in company with the *Municipal Journal*, the organ of municipal Socialism, are in fact as deeply committed to the process of socialisation as the chiefs of the Social Democratic Party themselves, though they are prepared for a more gradual advance.

Gradual or rapid, it is now clear that opponents will have none of it. The objection of the Anti-Socialists or Nationals extends not so much to the rate of advance as to the process itself. Thus we have two broad political divisions—on one side the Socialists, the Labourists, and the Radicals, all in favour of some form of Collectivism; on the other side the Conservatives, the Unionists, and the Capitalistic Liberals, who absolutely refuse to entertain the socialisation of the means of production. Since these are the days of economic politics, the true divisions between parties henceforward will be economic divisions. To say which is to pronounce the disruption and downfall of the present Liberal party. Socialism, the touchstone of politics, will have performed its greatest work in dividing parties into Progressives and Nationals. Between these opposing forces, because of the vastness of the principles and interests at stake, politics will probably be waged with a passion unknown since the years before the passing of the First Reform Bill.

XXXIV

The Strategy of Socialism

The history of the English Socialist movement ends here. It is the most amazing, the most romantic, in the annals of the Empire. A corps of unknown men, preaching first in the mud at street corners, have forced themselves with the aid of a conquering principle into the high places of the land; and the question is now whether we shall suffer them to complete this advance by capturing the government of the country, or shall rouse the nation to a supreme effort against them.

Step by step the Socialists have formed organisations, entrenched themselves in the Trade Unions, established a position in the municipalities, associated themselves with Church and Free Churches, and entered into alliance with the Liberal Party. The numbers of their avowed adherents may be comparatively few, but, at the least, they are as numerous as the Jacobins when the Jacobins dominated France. In the Progressive Party we can trace a league of policy and protection from a Liberal Prime Minister at one end to the revolutionary Socialist at the other.

Their admirable strategy and their concentration in the most favourable regions are clearly shown for the first time in the accompanying maps. These diagrams make it plain that the Socialist army advances to power by three successive stages. In the first stage, as the result of proselytising visits from Socialist missionaries,

local branches and labour representation committees are formed. In the next stage, candidates are put up for municipal elections: for the local councils are now, as ever, their indispensable stepping-stones to power. The last stage is the advance on Parliament, when constituencies are contested and seats are won.

There is no chance about the Socialist success. Concentration of forces and efforts is the universal rule, and no parliamentary candidate is chosen to contest a division unless the ground has been prepared by the foundation of branches and the contesting of municipal seats.

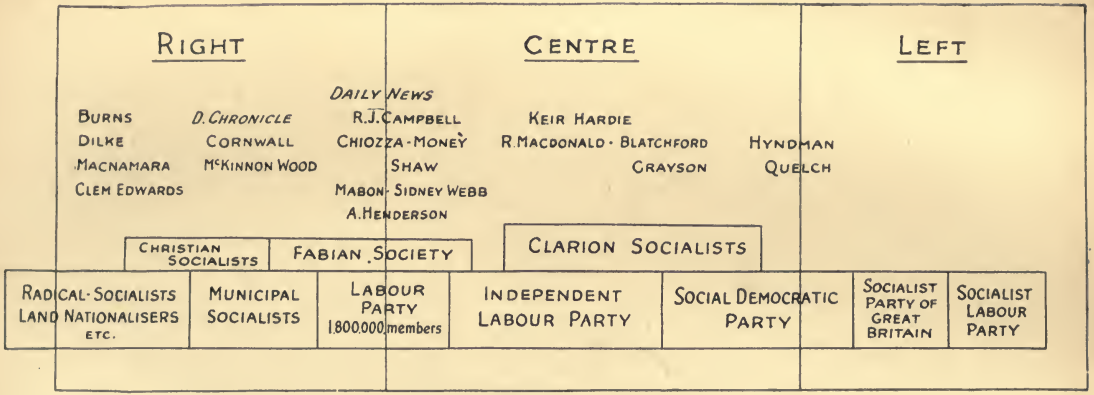
A most interesting fact is brought to light by the maps, which show that the strength of Socialism lies almost wholly in six districts—

1. Glasgow and Lanarkshire.
2. Northumberland and Durham.
3. South Lancashire and Yorkshire.
4. The Midlands.
5. South Wales.
6. London and the South-East.

Three points are worthy of special note. First, that Socialism grows where the coal grows. Second, that Lancashire is the great stronghold of Socialism. Third, that revolutionary Socialism is particularly strong in London.

The distribution of Socialist strength in selected areas accounts for the fact that a considerable minority of the people of this country are not convinced of the menace of Socialism. The inhabitants of East Anglia,

THE 'PROGRESSIVE' FORCES



NOTE.—This diagram shows the composition of the Radical-Socialist combination, commonly known as The Progressive Vote. All the sections ranging from the Radical-Socialists on the Right to the revolutionaries on the Left, are working for Socialistic ends. The oblongs show the relative position of sections, and the names indicate the places of individuals and newspapers in the movement. Thus Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. John Burns, and Mr. Macnamara on the Right are affiliated by an unbroken line of connections with Messrs. Hyndman and Quelch on the Left. Some organisations and persons are on the dividing-line between Radicalism and Socialism, and others again are on the line between Socialism and Anarchism. Despite the numerous internal differences between the various sections, all belong to one movement, and all are involved in a common responsibility, because all are definitely committed to the process of Socialisation. The only difference between them is that some desire Socialism by Instalments, and others Socialism by Revolution.

PLATE VII.

North Wales, North Devon, and other parts are not brought into immediate contact with the movement.

It is significant that the regions where Socialism is strongest are those which have been most turbulent in times past. Those who believe in the maxim that 'what Lancashire says to-day England thinks to-morrow' will be disturbed to notice that the Lancashire working-men are rapidly turning Socialist, and are in the van of the movement.

London is honeycombed with Socialist branches, of which the Social Democratic Party and Socialist Party of Great Britain have undue numbers.

It is possible to foretell, from these maps, the next steps in the Socialist movement. The contest at the next general election will be concentrated in the six regions named, and parliamentary candidates will be put up in constituencies where branches are strong and municipal seats are held. Thus, Swansea will probably be contested.

In the circumstances, Anti-Socialist strategy should be as follows:—

1. Every attempt should be made in the six districts to combine Liberals and Conservatives against the Socialists.
2. Active workers should be drafted from the constituencies where Socialism is weak or non-existent, to counteract the efforts of Socialists in the six districts. Thus, Anti-Socialist volunteers from East Anglia should pour into the Midlands, or from North Wales to Lancashire.

In concluding this study of the English movement it is worthy of note that there is some probability of the next general election occurring at about the time when the European ferment may be expected to reach its height.

ANTI-SOCIALIST ECONOMICS

I

The Appeal to First Principles

Among the many recent works combating Socialism, there have been few efforts in the nature of strict and coherent economic criticism. A thorough review of *Das Kapital* would be a work of high social value, but none such has yet been written. Opponents of Socialism must reflect that it is not a sufficient answer to the Socialist case to quote the extravagant utterances of certain Socialist leaders, or to show that Socialism is allied to irreligion. Particular Socialist speakers may be either fools or knaves, and the progress of Socialism may involve many undesirable consequences, but so long as the rank and file of the Socialist parties are convinced that their case is sound and logical; so long as they are allowed to retain the belief that the coming of Socialism is an inevitable passage in the evolution of humanity; they will continue to propagate their creed with the conviction of scientists and the enthusiasm of apostles. A campaign of economic education must therefore be one of the chief means of combating the menace of Socialism.

The one difficulty encountered in answering the Socialist case on economic grounds is the fact that that case is differently presented by several different bodies. The critic may rebut the arguments of the Marxians in the Social Democratic Party or the Socialist Party of Great Britain, and the withers of the Independent Labour Party remain unwrung; he may refute the statistical arguments of the Independent Labour Party, and the Blatchfordian Socialists care nothing; he may demonstrate the absurdity of Blatchfordian Utopism, and find the Fabians more disposed to approve than to rebuke him. It is impossible to discover a Socialist who is ready to defend the whole cause.

Nor is it sufficient to rebut the Socialist arguments. Socialism is an appeal to first principles in economics, and it is clearly necessary to show, not only that the Socialist principles are false and infertile, but that some other principles are fruitful and true. It is a noteworthy fact that every great social or political movement nowadays tends to resolve itself into a conflict of economic principles. One such conflict ended in the acceptance of Free Trade: of late years we have seen another devoted to the cause of Tariff Reform: a third campaign on the subject of Socialism has yet to be fought to its end. It is thus incumbent on Anti-Socialists to enunciate a set of principles in support of their own case, both destructive and constructive.

This is my reason for entitling the present section 'Anti-Socialist Economics.' I hold that Anti-Socialism

is a vital and positive force, and that the only useful end served by Socialism is to react on society in such wise as to draw out and develop its justificatory principles. If Anti-Socialism were merely, as some Socialists conceive, a selfish defence of the interests of oppressive capitalism, it would be at once the basest and most futile of political movements. Being, on the contrary, the natural expression of the great national, social, and religious forces which are identified with the prosperity and progress of England, Anti-Socialism, under whatever name it adopts or receives, is destined to endure and win great victories.

In the following pages I have endeavoured to set forth as tersely as possible, and in my own terms, the Anti-Socialist economic principles as I conceive them. To cover the whole economic ground in so small a space is impossible, even with the most austere condensation. It has been my aim to deal with the chief points of controversy in an unprejudicial spirit, not so much with the design of providing a finished study, as with that of furnishing the combatant Anti-Socialist with the materials of economic argument, and open-minded readers in general with matter for thought.

II

Wealth

Wealth signifies, broadly, all that constitutes the weal, or well-being, of man. Hence 'wealth' is in

some degree a relative term, for mankind has never yet reached a consensus of opinion as to what is well and what is ill. What constitutes social wealth, therefore, must always depend in great measure on the estimation of society. That which is wealth for one age or race may be trash for another. In Shakespeare's words, 'There is nothing either good or bad, but *thinking* makes it so.'

Wealth is defined by Johnson, first, as 'prosperity, external happiness'; next as 'riches, money, or precious goods.' Weal is also defined as 'happiness, prosperity, flourishing state.' Bacon refers to 'the weal of our souls and bodies.' The Book of Common Prayer refers to the 'time of our wealth' as the antithesis to the 'time of our tribulation.'

Social value constitutes social wealth. Where there is value, there is wealth. Where there is no value, there is no wealth.

All values fluctuate, according to circumstances, but some are more fixed and definite than others: as the value of wheat, the value of gold, the value of iron. Others depend on public caprice, as the value of printed silk, the value of hat-trimmings. The more fixed values may be described as intrinsic values, the others as estimation values.

Values are constituted by the coition of several forces. Subjectively, values are constituted by

1. Human needs; as the need of food and clothing.
2. Desires and tastes: as the desire for precious stones and works of art.

Objectively, values are created by

1. Intelligence.
2. Physical labour.

There is a third constituent element of value, external to humanity. This is the operation of natural forces: such as the forces which cause wheat to grow, or those embodied in mineral deposits.

In so far as social values are objective, they are thus created by Intelligence, Physical Labour, and Natural Forces. All creation-values are, however, subject to the estimation-value of society as a whole.

The requirements of human society are of two kinds: mental (or psychological) and physical. In savage society the physical requirements predominate; in civilised society the psychological requirements predominate.

Social values (constituting wealth) are therefore of two kinds: mental or psychological, and physical or material; the mental predominating.

III

Economics the Science of Social Values

What, then, is the province of Economics? Its limits are no more fixed than the boundaries of the Empire. There is a tendency among economists to confine it, as far as possible, to what Victor Hugo calls the social or animal life of the community.

According to the generally accepted definition, economics is 'the science concerned with the pro-

duction, distribution, and exchange of wealth.' Professor Marshall describes it as the 'study of man's actions in the ordinary business of life, which inquires how he gets, and how he spends, his income.' Whatever standard definition we accept, it is evident that the mental element in economic life predominates over the physical.

There is rudimentary economic life among the lower animals. The squirrel saves, the sparrow builds and distributes, the beaver fells and engineers, the bees are producers, and the ants have a social system. The degree in which man surpasses the other animals in production, distribution, and exchange, owing to his superior mental development, is therefore the degree in which the mental element in human economics surpasses the physical element.

Economics being concerned with the study of wealth, it is necessary to observe that many members of the community are engaged in producing spurious and dubious forms of wealth.[1]

Two points must therefore be noted:

1. That as the mental factor in economic life co-exists with the physical factor, economics is necessarily concerned with mental values.
2. That a certain proportion of the so-called 'wealth' which forms the object of economic study is not wealth at all.

[1] The incomes of demi-mondaines come within the scope of Professor Marshall's definition of Economics. Many forms of spurious wealth are necessarily included in Mr. Chiozza Money's calculations of national income.

Any conception of economics as wholly or chiefly concerned with the production, distribution, and exchange of material wealth is false.[1]

Economics is the science of social values. To give a more precise definition: economics is the study of the creation and distribution of social values.

Being concerned with values which are both relative and fluctuating—with mental and physical activities in variable combinations, and with elements of psychology which are only partially understood—economics cannot be an exact science.

Since every new generation is accompanied by new psychological developments, every generation must modify the economics of its predecessors.

The economist, as an economist, has knowledge of the past. The social knowledge of the immediate present is the province of the politician.

Economics is therefore the handmaid of politics. Politics, the highest of all applied sciences, cannot be subjected to the dictation of economics. Economists can only apply their social knowledge of the past to the social conditions of the present in so far as they are politicians.[2]

[1] 'The best and most fruitful achievements in political economy accomplished by men like Quesnay, Turgot, Adam Smith, and J. S. Mill have been in forwarding human progress. There the ethical or ideal element has not been excluded from political economy at its best. On the contrary, it has informed and inspired the science in its noblest efforts.'—*Chambers's Encyclopædia*, 'Political Economy.'

[2] The economist in the political field is like a military theorist who finds himself plunged into the midst of active warlike operations. The resultant failure surprises no one but the economist

Social or economic values consist in certain services, forces, and commodities.

Some members of society create social values by producing commodities—*e.g.* wheat, machinery, clothing. Others create social values without producing commodities—*e.g.* sailors, postmen, policemen, statesmen.

The components of all commodities are human services and natural forces.

All forms of wealth or social value are thus constituted by human services and natural forces.

That is to say, all wealth finally consists of energies, human and natural. The wealth of a nation is the sum of its mental and physical energies and natural resources.

himself. It is unnecessary to multiply instances, but one may be cited. Professor Cannan, in the 1903 edition of *Theories of Production and Distribution*, writes (p. 403): 'It will perhaps be suggested that at any rate the modern theories have not prevented a revival of protectionism in England. The answer to this is that the supposed revival is somewhat mythical.' In a footnote he says with some complacency: 'This paragraph was written in March 1903, and sent to the printer two days before the abandonment of the Grain Duty in the Budget of 1903. The author did not expect so early a confirmation of his view.' It is only necessary to add that these passages were written a few months before Mr. Chamberlain opened the Tariff Reform campaign. In *Theories of Production and Distribution* we see the economist at his best, so long as he deals with the immediate past: directly he makes an incursion into the present, he yields place to the practical politician.

IV

Genuine, Spurious, and Doubtful Values

We have seen that Social Values which constitute Wealth consist of Mental, Physical, and Natural (which includes Circumstantial or Fortuitous) Values.

The real 'producer' in a community is the creator of genuine values. The non-producer is the creator of spurious values or of no values. There is a third class of workers engaged in creating doubtful values.

All values are open to criticism from a metaphysical point of view, but judging according to the standard of common sense, we may broadly pronounce that the bridge-builder, the skilled carpenter, the engine-driver, the printer, the farmer, the business-organiser, the surgeon, the statesman, and the clergyman create genuine values; that the demi-mondaine, the quack, the brothel-keeper, the Socialist-Labour agitator, the maker of gambling implements, the counterfeiter, and the producer of false antiques, create spurious values.

A State lives and thrives by its genuine values. Spurious values are a source of weakness and a form of social disease.

The creators of genuine values are the strength of the State. The creators of spurious values are malignant parasites, injurious to the State, and supported by the creators of genuine values.

The creators of spurious values are therefore social parasites, living at the expense of the creators of genuine values.

In so far as certain values are doubtful or open to question, it is also doubtful or open to question whether their creators are genuine producers or social parasites.

The value of English beer is denied by Prohibitionists. From the Prohibitionist standpoint it is therefore clear that all workers engaged in producing beer are social parasites.

From the common-sense English standpoint, the value of English beer is admitted to be genuine, if the beer is good. When the beer is bad, its producers are engaged in creating spurious values. When good, the workers engaged are genuine producers.

From the standpoint of the foreigner whose palate has been educated in the taste for wine, the value of English beer is doubtful. It is therefore doubtful, from this point of view, whether those who brew English beer are genuine producers or social parasites.

There may thus be a conflict of values, genuine, spurious, and doubtful, in one and the same commodity.

Again, a creator of genuine values may occasionally create spurious values. The printer, who has been pronounced a creator of genuine values, may use his presses to print pornographic literature. In this case his labour, and that of his compositors and pressmen, is waste labour; and all engaged become for the moment social parasites.

A cabdriver may be a creator of genuine values. But if he puts his services exclusively at the disposal of demi-mondaines, he becomes a creator of spurious value and a social parasite.

The domestic servant of a prime minister, of a business organiser, of a man of enterprise, of a self-denying clergyman, is a creator of social value. If the same person enters the service of a swindler or a rake, he or she becomes a social parasite.

A literary man is a creator of genuine value so long as he writes valuable books. If he prostitutes his pen to write a noxious book, he becomes a social parasite.

Every man of intelligence who helps to keep alive and active the mind and spirit of the nation, is a genuine producer. Every worker, no matter what his skill or energy, who creates spurious values or knowingly puts his services at the disposal of vice, wastefulness, or trickery, is a non-producer.

Creators of doubtful values form a large class. Among them are the producers of jerry-built houses, inferior furniture, shoddy clothing, adulterated food, and shams of many kinds. The music-hall low comedian, the champion pugilist, the racing tout, and many other curious social phenomena, produce remarkable combinations of doubtful and spurious values.

The worker is only a producer in so far as he creates genuine values.

V

The Rights of Property and Accumulation

The right to private property is the most elementary and universal of human rights. The desire of possession

is the perennial incentive to activity, and hence the mainspring of progress.

This right must therefore be absolutely admitted or absolutely denied. Either property is held by right, or Proudhon's dictum, Property is theft,' is correct.

If property is theft, burglary is no crime. In this case, the Socialist claim that expropriation of the capitalist class would be merely restitution, is justified. But on the same contention the capitalist would be equally justified in expropriating the worker. This contention leads direct to Anarchy.

The tenure of private property in modern and civilised practice is, however, radically different from the tenure of private property in the primeval or savage practice.

The modern tenure is more certain, enduring, extensive, and cumulative. The tribesman may own his gun, his horse, and his saddle: the chief may even possess great wealth; but the values held by both tribesman and chief are subject to great uncertainty and extreme fluctuations. Their wealth and glory are here to-day and gone to-morrow.

Private property in the form of enduring, cumulative, and transmissible values is enrooted in the family. The desire to build up and consolidate wealth is involved in the desire to build up and consolidate the family.

The family, and not the individual, is the unit of civilisation. It is a patriarchal commune within the State. It provides the strongest guarantee for public morality and private honour. It is the seat of authority and the school of discipline. A State is secure and

formidable in so far as its family life is healthy, and prosperous in so far as it affords opportunities for the building up and continuance of families. When the family decays, the State decays. To perpetuate the family is the truest, most natural, and most worthy ambition of man. To succeed in doing so implies the consolidation of family property.

The right to accumulate is implied in the right to hold property. We own three pounds by the same right that we own two. The right to transmit is derived from the law of perpetuation. What is ours is our children's.

The motive to accumulate is supplied by the desire to perpetuate. The exceptions prove the rule. The accumulation and transmission of private property, and the continuation of family life, are therefore interdependent. To endanger the one is to imperil the other.

Wealth which is held by right, accumulated by right, and transmitted by right, may be rightly lent or invested. Such wealth is capital.

Capitalism, being the system of privately holding, accumulating, transmitting, and investing wealth, is a useful and necessary feature of civilisation. It is intimately connected with family life, which is therefore involved in the attacks on it.

Capitalism may be, and in some cases is, carried to excess. But here again the abuse cannot vitiate the use; and the abuse is open to remedy by the exercise of the right possessed by every State to check excessive accumulations of power or wealth.

The capitalistic system is not confined to the rich. Every man or woman who holds, accumulates, transmits, and invests private property, is a capitalist. The majority of the adult members of society are already capitalists, and the chief fault of the system is not that capitalists are too many, but that they are still too few; not that a few holdings of capital are too large, but that the many are too small.

Capitalism will perfect and balance itself by extension. Every man and woman in a civilised State ought to be a capitalist, and every small holding of capital should be substantially increased.

The process of extending Capitalism and increasing small holdings of capital is now progressing among the working classes.

To sum up, the rights of Private Property and Capitalism cannot be denied, except in dogmatic and absolute terms, such as Proudhon's. It has been shown that the right to own property or wealth is a human right; that it involves the right of accumulation; and that the right of transmission is a family right. The right of loan or investment is involved in family right; for if the father has power to transmit wealth to his son, he has also the right to advance wealth as capital in his son's business: brother can also invest with brother, and cousin with cousin. To deny the same right to friends, or to society at large, would be absurd.

The Socialist attack on Capitalism, being an attack on human right, the continuance of families, and the progressive savings of the working classes, is therefore immoral, and contrary to public policy.

VI

Property in Land

Property in land is held by the same right as any other form of property.

The contention of Socialists and land nationalisers that land must be treated differently from other forms of property, because the land of a country is a fixed and finite quantity, is without foundation. Land is not fixed and finite, except in the sense that all matter is fixed and finite.[1]

The geographical outline and area of every country are constantly changing. Cliffs split and fall into the sea, carrying arable surface-land with them. Shores are subject to incessant corrosion. Fresh land is formed from deposits of sand and soil by ocean and river tides. All these natural operations may be, and are, either impeded or helped by man's intelligence.

If rivers are left to the operations of nature, they flood and submerge miles of cultivable soil. Land may be deported from one country to another: as London dust was exported to make the foundations of St. Petersburg. Land, in the form of nitrates, is brought from Chili to England. It is possible, in an engineering sense, to increase the area or extension of Holland a third, by draining the Zuyder Zee.

[1] Mr. Chiozza Money writes: 'There is one thing which he [man] cannot do. He cannot change the geographical position of land. The element of area, of extension, is inherent and immobile, unchangeable and indestructible.'—*Riches and Poverty*, p. 73.

Land is subject to almost unlimited qualitative increase. The cultivator who improves the yield of his land so that a hundred acres produce as much as two hundred acres formerly, virtually increases the land by a hundred acres. The enterprising proprietor who drains a marsh and forms it into cultivable land, virtually increases the area as much as the proprietor who reclaims a section of shore.

Minerals—coal, iron, copper, and tin—are land; and the quantity of minerals produced varies with the enterprise of proprietors and prospectors. The proprietor of a coal-mine owns five thousand tons of coal by the same right as a householder who owns five tons. Clay, bricks, and building-stone are forms of land. The owner of a clay-pit holds it by the same right as that of the owner of a house built of bricks formed from the clay.

Land, in all its forms, is incessantly mobile. It must be watched, developed, and humoured to yield to advantage. The energetic application of intelligence has converted England from a moor to a garden, and developed the stores of mineral wealth once neglected.

Therefore, if private enterprise and proprietorship are rightful and necessary, they are above all things rightful and necessary in connection with land.

VII

Capitalism

Capitalism and Capitalists have existed for many centuries. In the history of Western Europe, Capitalism

is found to be practically coeval with civilisation. The term Capitalism is simply a modern name for an ancient institution.

Modern Capitalism differs from ancient and mediæval Capitalism in being more extensive, better regulated and understood, more complex and perfectly balanced, less burdensome in its incidence. Capitalism has become at once more humane and more serviceable to society as civilisation has advanced.

Capitalism as a system and the Capitalist as a member of Society are clearly recognised in the New Testament. We find the machinery of capitalistic production—the investment of capital in trading for profit, the deposit of money in banks for interest, loan transactions between creditor and debtor, private property in land and the means of production, the hire of working-men by capitalists for a stated wage—in active operation in Palestine in the days of Christ. The constituent parts of 'surplus value'—rent, interest, and profit—the so-called 'wage-slaves' selling their labour-power in the market, and other familiar features of Marxian economics, are there seen to belong to the normal order of civil society.

An oppressive form of Capitalism reached a high state of development in Rome in the second and first centuries B.C.[1] Dr. G. W. Batsford writes in his *History of Rome*[2]: 'To complete our understanding of the nobles of this period, it is necessary to bear in

[1] This is perhaps the one form of Capitalism in history to which the leading Marxian theories are applicable.

[2] Macmillan: New York, 1901.

mind that they were capitalists, who sought office not merely for honour, but also as a means of absorbing the riches of the world.' Large-scale production by means of wage-slaves, the appropriation of unearned values by the dominant capitalist class, and the growth of monopoly, were the salient features of the system. The class war was then a fact; while, on the other hand, some of the reforms effected by the Gracchi—notably the distribution of free doles of wheat to the people—were essentially Socialistic palliatives. Roman capitalism was sustained by slavery.[1] Under the early Emperors the financial system was more highly developed, and became more humane in its incidence.

Mr. Bernard Henderson, in his *Life and Principate of Nero*,[2] refers to 'the "publicani," capitalist companies who purchased the taxes from the State at a lump sum, and collected afterwards as much as they could squeeze out of the unhappy provincials.' Again: 'The

[1] It is a favourite rhetorical point with Socialist speakers to declare that the modern system of so-called 'wage-slavery' compares unfavourably with ancient chattel slavery in that it absolves the Capitalist from the obligation of supporting the slave. There was no such obligation under Roman Capitalism. Aged slaves were sold when they became unprofitable. If unsaleable, they were deported and exposed to starvation. Nothing could be more unhistorical in conception than the Marxian parallel between the conditions of ancient slavery and modern Capitalism, on which the doctrine of the class war is founded. The fundamental error consists in picturing the modern free wage-worker as the counterpart of the ancient slave. He is, on the contrary, the counterpart of the ancient freeman, who laboured in the community simultaneously with the slave. Ancient history is replete with examples of freemen who rose by their energy and intelligence to high positions. Slavery having been abolished, the freemen alone remained.

[2] Methuen, 1903.

capitalists, too, who purchased the taxes and saw their profits threatened, added their opposition to the scheme.'

Mr. A. H. J. Greenidge, in his *History of Rome*,[1] describes in detail the Roman capitalistic system, the features of which were large and small trading concerns; the holding of shares by private individuals; limited liability companies; large-scale production by contracting companies; an intricate banking system; a class of company promoters and directors; and other normal features of civilised wealth-production—the whole, however, differing vitally from the modern system in the fact that it was based on slavery. 'Research has rendered it probable that the companies of the time were composed of an outer as well as of an inner circle; that the mass of shareholders differed from those who were the promoters, managers, and active agents in the concern; that the liability of the former at least was limited, and that their shares, whether small or great, were transmissible and subject to the fluctuations of the market.'[2] 'The transmarine interests of Rome had not at that time attained a development which invited the mastery of conquered lands by the Roman capitalist.'[3] 'There was no prohibition against loans on bottomry, and Cato had increased his wealth by becoming through his freedman a member of a maritime company, each partner in

[1] *A History of Rome during the Later Republic and Early Principate.* 6 vols. Methuen, 1904.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 43-44.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 34.

which had but a limited liability and the prospect of enormous gains.'[1] Crassus was the arch-capitalist, the typical multi-millionaire, of his time.[2]

The theory of Socialists that Capitalism is a modern institution has no foundation in fact.

The assumption that Capitalism forms a distinct and separate stage in the development of society—that it must rise, flourish, and decay like previous social systems, such as the Feudal system—is, therefore, unscientific.

There is no self-contained 'Capitalist Era,' no separate 'Industrial Era.' As Capitalism and Industrialism have already lasted for more than twenty centuries, there is no reason to suppose that they will not endure, develop, and improve for twenty centuries more.

The two accepted Socialist theories of private Capitalism—one that it is destined to come to a catastrophic termination through the Social revolution, the other that it is doomed to be gradually ousted by a new system of public ownership—involve the

[1] *A History of Rome during the Later Republic and Early Principate*, vol. i. p. 35.

[2] The ordinary Socialist speaker who declaims against interest and profit on money is unaware that his thunder is of very ancient date. The business of advancing capital was carried on by the *negotiatores* (bankers) and *foeneratores* (money-lenders) behind whom were the capitalists proper. Cato Major, a good disciplinarian but a bad economist, writes (*De Re Rustica*): 'Majores nostri sic habuerunt et ita in legibus posuerunt, furem dupli condemnari, foeneratorem quadrupli.' 'The capitalist who lends money at interest is a thief and worse than a thief.' The main proposition of Marx and Proudhon is identical.

assumption that the end of the Capitalistic system is at hand, and are therefore absurd.

VIII

Capital

Capital is defined as that portion of wealth which is set apart for the production of other wealth.

We have already seen that all economic wealth consists of certain values, representing mental and physical energies and natural forces.

The substance of Capital is therefore industry and natural force. The fact that Capital is commonly described in terms of money-value has given rise to misconceptions among Socialists.[1]

[1] Some Socialists hold that Capital is money, and deny that the means of production are Capital. Marx, in *Das Kapital* ('The General Formula for Capital'), writes: 'Capital, as opposed to landed property, invariably takes the form at first of money; it appears as moneyed wealth as the capital of the merchant and the usurer. . . . All new capital, to commence with, comes on the stage, that is, on the market, . . . in the shape of money.' To state that Capital is money is simply to assert that Capital is pecuniary in character. *Pecunia*—money—in its strict derivatory sense, signifies sheep and cattle. *Res pecuaria* = an estate in, or stock of, cattle. *Pecunia* also signifies estate, real or personal. Sheep and cattle constituted the capital of the early Romans. In a pastoral community sheep and cattle are the means of production, holding a similar place to that of machinery in an industrial community. Even now we speak of 'stock,' meaning cattle, and of 'capital stock.' Early Roman stock, or Capital, consisted of certain mental and physical services and natural forces embodied in flocks and herds. The same order of services and forces are to-day embodied largely in industrial machinery.

The labour, or power of service, of a working man may be correctly described as his capital. He uses his labour to produce further wealth, partly for his own consumption, partly for the support of his family, partly for the purpose of accumulation, or saving.

To say that a man owns Capital to the amount of a thousand pounds is simply to state that he possesses the right to a thousand pounds' worth of economic service and natural force. The right of one man to property in the industry of others has been shown to be one of the most firmly grounded of all human rights.

Human industry, *i.e.* intelligence and labour—being reduced to concrete form, as in grain, coal, or metal ready for the market, may be either consumed or accumulated. Being accumulated, it may be lent or invested. Being set apart for loan or investment, it becomes Capital.

Thus all the constituent parts of Capital are energies. Capital may be defined as a form of accumulated productive energy, human and natural.

This accumulated energy may or may not take the form of gold. The gold (or silver, or other money) form is a mere convenience. Neglecting for the moment the ornamental and rarity value of gold, the coins which the capitalist uses as a medium of exchange are mere tokens or symbols, with no more intrinsic value than cheques and banknotes, which, in large financial operations, have practically superseded gold.

When Socialists point to the fact that gold is unfruitful in itself, and argue that the interest which is exacted for it is an unjust tax or tribute—an

extortion of surplus value from Labour—they ignore the fact that gold is only valuable (as a medium of exchange) because it represents vital energy; that is, because it can be exchanged at any time for vital and fruitful energy, in the form of services or commodities or the means of production.

It is economically and historically false to assert that Capital is either essentially or originally money, as distinct from the means of production. All money is originally purchased with energies. The owner of certain productive energies—say, for example, a plot of land, some machinery, services, or valuable commodities—surrenders these in return for gold (or other money), because he knows that he can in turn surrender the gold for other energies. Otherwise he would never part with his property, and the gold would never come on the stage at all.

Let us assume that this proprietor decides to invest his capital in an industrial concern. To charge him at the transitory period when he holds the gold as a token or security for these energies, with a design to rob society of surplus value because he demands a moderate increment as a condition for an advance of capital, is obviously absurd.

His gold, as gold, is not wanted by the industrial concern. It is only required as a token of productive energy, by means of which energy both the capitalist and the workman in the concern expect to obtain value for themselves.

The possession of gold (or other money) is thus only a sign or guarantee that the possessor is the owner of

an equivalent amount of productive energy, *i.e.* the means of production.

The ownership of the productive energy pre-exists the ownership of the gold. Capital, therefore, is essentially and primarily productive energy, and money is only a convenient measure for that energy. The Marxian contention that Capital always comes on the stage first as money (as distinct from the means of production) is untenable.

First and last, therefore, Capital is a form of accumulated productive energy, and the owner is consequently entitled to increment upon it.

IX

Capital, Labour, and Surplus Value

The high value of Capital in Production is demonstrated by its almost universal employment.

The simplest instance of the basic relationship between Capital and Labour is supplied by the case of a man who has accumulated industry and natural force in the form of wheat grain, and is asked by a neighbour for an advance of grain to grow next season's crop.

The first man lends to the second on condition that his grain shall be repaid with increment, or interest. The second borrows from the first that which is vital and fertile, because he can obtain from nature a larger increment than he engages to repay.

In this transaction the first man—the Capitalist—clearly does not exploit or rob the second of surplus

value. For he advances that which is fertile, and which is necessary to the second man. The forces of nature add new value to the sown grain, and from the increment or profit so obtained both men take their appointed share.

Nevertheless, when the day of repayment comes, the borrower may persuade himself that it is a hardship to be compelled to pay the wheat and the increment—principal and interest—to the Capitalist, who has not actually laboured in the field. This is a case of false grievance, for neither the seed nor the increment was ever the borrower's. The Capitalist, although he has not laboured physically, has rendered a service both to Labour, in the person of the borrower, and to Society: to Labour, because he has provided it with the means of employment; to Society, because he has helped to provide it with the means of life.

Surplus value, in such transactions, is therefore not created by Labour and appropriated from Labour by Capital. It is created by Nature under the co-operative action of Capital and Labour, and is shared by Capital and Labour in due proportion.

The same order of transaction obtains in large-scale Production under modern conditions. When a new business is started, Capitalists or Investors are applied to for an advance, and workers of various classes are applied to for their labour.

Let us assume that capital is advanced to the amount of £100,000. This does not mean that 100,000 sovereigns are lent, but that social service and natural force or materials to the money value of £100,000 are

put at the disposal of the directors of the new concern by those who have accumulated them.

The form taken by the capital varies according to the needs of the business. In the case of a motor-manufacturing company it would take the form of buildings, a supply of machine tools, including lathes, drills, planing-machines and saws, various patent rights or special designs, a supply of raw and manufactured material, some advertising, and the services of a numerous staff.

On examination, the capital advanced is seen to be nothing whatever but a supply of energies measured in money-value. The buildings, machine tools, and materials consist of the intelligence and labour of many men in concrete form. The patent rights and designs consist of the intelligent services of inventors. The advertising consists of the intelligent services of agents and the press.

An advance of capital to an industry therefore consists chiefly of a Credit for Service.

A similar Credit for Service is set up when one nation advances a War Loan to another. The loan does not usually take the form of an export of bullion; but the concrete services and natural resources of the lending nation in the form of arms, clothing, manufactured goods, food supplies, and other munitions of war are placed at the disposal of the debtor nation.

Without this capital—which is to say, without the services of a combination of men and a supply of material—businesses obviously could not be started. Labour, by the act of joining the combination, acknow-

ledges the value of the capital and agrees to the compact for the payment of the increment.

In so doing, Labour is not actuated by any regard for the Capitalist. Labour accepts the Capital simply as a means of profit for itself. Over and above the increment payable to the Capitalist, Labour expects to obtain a surplus value from the applied Capital for its own uses. For obviously no one would borrow money simply to pay it back with interest at an agreed date, without getting or expecting any advantage for himself.

It might therefore be argued that Labour is constantly engaged in appropriating surplus value from Capital. This argument is quite as legitimate and demonstrable as Marx's converse proposition that Capital is constantly engaged in appropriating surplus value from Labour.

We have already seen, however, that the real source of surplus value is Nature. Neither Capital nor Labour by itself, nor both in co-operation, can produce an increment without the aid of natural forces. The proverb, *Deus dat incrementum*, enshrines the whole economic truth as to surplus value.

When the farmer sows with borrowed seed, the increase comes from Nature. From that natural increase both Capital and Labour are rewarded. If Nature were unyielding, the Capitalist could advance money-values without limit, and the labourer could toil without ceasing, but no advantage would result.

The law of increment operates in cattle and sheep-raising as in wheat-growing. It operates in the yield

of cotton and wool, and also, though less obviously, in the mineral field. Not only are mineral supplies constantly forming by the action of nature, but they are reforming as man disintegrates their chemical combinations. Even though supplies in particular spots are exhausted, as crops in particular places and seasons fail, the total area of yield increases year after year. Every industry, directly or indirectly, depends for its prosperity on the natural law of growth and increment.

This law, however, only operates at its best under the stimulus of human intelligence. Without an intelligent application of the right seed to the right soil, the action of Nature is imperfect. Without intelligent research, discovery, and invention, the yield of Nature is limited.

Rent, interest, and profit—the constituent parts of surplus value—are three forms of the same thing. All three are forms of increment returnable for the use of productive energies.

Rent for land is the landowner's share of the increment yielded by the productive energies of the land.

Interest is the shareholder's share of the increment yielded by the productive energies which the shareholder places at the disposal of the industrial capitalist and the workman.

Profit is the proprietor's or industrial capitalist's share of the increment yielded by the productive energies which he invests in his business.

In all three cases, the owner of certain productive energies grants their use to others, who benefit by that

use. The owner is as much entitled to his share of the product as the user of the capital.

The Socialist doctrine that Capitalists live by appropriating surplus value from Labour is therefore false.

X

Capitalist, Shareholder, and Workman

The essence of the Socialist contention as to surplus value is that, under the Capitalist system, the workman invariably creates more value than he receives.

The surplus, it is alleged, is appropriated by the Capitalist in the three forms already mentioned—rent, interest, and profit.

Thus the workman is assumed to create value to the amount of, say, one pound. But, before he is paid his wage, rent, interest, and profit are deducted. So that the workman actually receives only fifteen shillings, ten shillings, five shillings, or even less, in actual wages, out of the value he has created. Socialist economists differ widely among themselves as to the amount of the surplus value which is alleged to be thus appropriated from Labour.

The contention is absolutely without foundation. Surplus value is an economic fact; but it is not obtained by the capitalist from the workman. It is obtained, as we have seen, by the capitalist and the workman from Nature.

The workman does not create more value than he receives. On the contrary, by the act of joining the

industrial combination, he receives far more value than he could possibly create under natural conditions.

The industrial combination consists of the capitalist, the shareholder, and the workman. By the capitalist is here meant the industrial chief who directs a business, in which he also holds a considerable share. The outside shareholder may be described as an inactive capitalist.

The capitalist and the shareholder are both accused of appropriating surplus value from Labour.

The 'idle shareholder' is depicted as growing rich at his ease on the labour of the working man, and the large profits made by the shareholders in certain companies are cited to prove that this appropriation of surplus value from Labour reaches immense dimensions.

Against the heavy profits made by shareholders in some concerns must be set the vast losses incurred in other directions.[1] The shareholder takes the risk, and is entitled to the reward.

It is true, of course, that an all-round profit is made. The capitalist, the shareholder, and the workman all share in the surplus value obtained. The capitalist receives dividends and salary, the shareholder dividends, and the workman wages.

Let us assume that the industrial trio put their productive energies together to obtain profit from certain natural forces, *e.g.* in the iron-smelting industry.

[1] The Board of Trade Returns show that £39,115,498 were lost in limited companies through bankruptcy in the ten years ending with 1907.

The combination is thus capitalist plus shareholder plus workman. Now it is clear that the combination of these three parties is not absolutely essential to the production of iron from ore. The capitalist and the shareholders could dig the ore with spade and mattock, and smelt it laboriously in small quantities. The shareholders and the workmen could do the same, and might produce a moderate result, though they would be seriously handicapped for the want of the head capitalist's financial and administrative assistance. The workmen alone could dig the ore, smelt it, and carry the pig-iron on their backs to market.

What would the value of the workmen's labour be if they acted in this way, without the co-operation of the capitalist and the shareholders? Let us assume that a thousand workmen co-operated to smelt iron, dispensing with the productive energies of the other parties to the combination. What would the wage-value of their labour be, as decided by their product of pig-iron?

If we assess it at ten shillings a week per man, we probably overestimate the value. We may describe this salary as their natural wage.

Let us assume that the workmen approach a number of shareholders—*i.e.* persons owning accumulated productive energy—and induce them to put capital into the concern.

Their inducement to the shareholders would be the offer of good interest. But they certainly would not offer the shareholders good interest unless they could obtain over and above that interest a surplus value for themselves.

Under the new combination—shareholders plus workmen—we may assume that the wage-value of the men's labour would rise to, say, fifteen shillings a week, after the payment of interest to the shareholders. Their wage would be composed as follows:—natural value, ten shillings; surplus value, five shillings: total, fifteen shillings.

This combination, however, is only partially effective. In order to obtain the best results, the abilities and resources of the master-capitalist must be requisitioned. When the combination—capitalist, plus shareholder, plus workmen—is complete, the workmen receive wages to the amount of, say, twenty-five shillings a week each, composed thus:—natural value, ten shillings; surplus value, fifteen shillings: total, twenty-five shillings.

Every wage-paid workman receives surplus value in his wages. It is very doubtful if this surplus value ever amounts to less than fifty per cent. of his total salary. The agitation to deprive the capitalist and the shareholder of their surplus value for the benefit of the workman is therefore simply an attempt to secure for the workman a double share at the expense of his partners in the combination. The Socialist wants both to eat his cake and to have it.

XI

Intelligence the Chief Source of Wealth

It has been shown that Social Values (constituting Wealth) are created mainly by Mental Services,

Physical Services, and Natural Forces; or, more strictly, consist of these energies. Further, it has been shown that the Mental Values surpass the Physical in such degree as human labour surpasses animal labour.

By far the most valuable human ingredient in any commodity is Intelligence. Without Intelligence, neither Physical Services nor Natural Forces can avail.

Intelligence searches, discovers, combines, and deduces. The discovery of one man may make the prosperity of a hundred thousand others. A single great inventor, or a group of inventors, may establish a new industry and change the face of the earth. But for Trevithick, Watts, and Stephenson, the world could not support its present population. Society is eternally indebted to its men of intelligence—to the inventors of the wheel, the crank, the screw, and the lever; the discoverers of gas, electricity, and steam power; the designers and improvers of engines, ships, and machine-tools; and the other instruments of human progress.

Intelligence is thus the qualitative element in human service. Industry is the more valuable in proportion as the element of mental energy predominates, and less valuable in proportion as the physical element prevails.

The diversities of the human mind are such that there may be more originality, more intelligence, in one man than in two, twenty, or a thousand others.

By means of a superior intelligence one man may

therefore produce more social value, or wealth, than two, or twenty, or a thousand other men.

The presence of Napoleon on a battlefield was said by Wellington to be equal in military value to a corps of forty thousand men. It is conceivable that one man of Napoleonic genius in the world of commerce might produce as much genuine social value as forty thousand labourers.

No injustice can be done to the average man, and no wrong suffered by society, in requiting individuals according to the social values they create.

If one man creates social value equal to that of fifty ordinary workers, and receives a proportionate reward, society derives as much benefit from the transaction as if it had paid fifty average men for fifty average values.

The workers, though they may envy the man who is fifty times as valuable as they, receive a positive advantage from the existence of the man of higher quality. For Labour is always more indebted to Intelligence than Intelligence to Labour.

This qualitative element runs through the whole of human industry from top to bottom. The workers whose labour is worth the least are those who mix the least intelligence with it. The workers whose labour is worth the most are those who work almost entirely with their intelligence. Between these two extremes are many gradations of workers who create social values by various combinations of intelligence and physical labour.

The highly intelligent grades keep in the forefront

of human progress; the least intelligent drag along in the rear.

It is one of the fallacies of the Socialist case to represent the rearguard of society as oppressed by the vanguard: in fact, the members of the rearguard are the real parasites, creating little social value, and more of a hindrance than a help to the march of the social army.

To the members of this rearguard, and to them alone, applies the theory of Marx that the wages of Labour always tend to sink to mere subsistence-level.

Labour sinks in value in proportion as it lacks Intelligence. Labour rises in value in proportion as it possesses Intelligence.

Lack of Intelligence necessarily causes Labour to sink to subsistence-level. That is to say, unintelligent Labour sinks as low as it possibly can. Subsistence-level is the lowest level, because to sink below this involves the extinction of the class.

Wherever we find Labour at subsistence-level, we find Labour low in Intelligence. Wherever we find Labour prosperous, we find it high in Intelligence.

The existence of a large class of workers at subsistence-level in any country is therefore evidence of the existence of a large class of workers of subordinate Intelligence.

The workers of this class, by reason of their lack of intelligence, are a burden to themselves, to their fellow-workers, and to society at large. They flood the market with cheap labour, and, in the midst of a world which offers wealth in plenty to the man of in-

telligence, they are only barely able to make a living. Being unable to help themselves, their improvement can only come, if at all, from without.

XII

Grades of Intelligence

Intelligence, economically considered, is of many degrees and values.

The blacksmith's striker constantly exercises intelligence in striking the iron at the right spot and moment, but this intelligence is obviously of a minor order.

The female loom-hand uses intelligence in her work, but it is intelligence of a mechanical and replicatory kind.

The calling of the clerk demands constant intelligence, but in some occupations it is merely mechanical, while others demand a good order of insight, responsibility, and discretion.

The engine-fitter or motor mechanic requires a good order of intelligence, since he has to understand his engine through and through, to be able to diagnose its faults and to adjust its parts.

The foreman has to exercise a higher sort of intelligence, since he must know not only his trade, but how to handle his men to advantage, so as to get the best results from them with the least friction.

The manager is on a still higher level, since he has to understand his trade, his men, and the public.

The business chief stands at the pinnacle of the world of Production. To be efficient he must have a thorough knowledge of the details of his business, must be a master-hand in the management of men, must understand finance, commercial law, and the public taste, and must have the power of making new and successful combinations. An immense load of responsibility rests on his shoulders, so that he must have courage. He is confronted with incessant competition, so that he must have initiative. He must lead where others follow, plan when others take their ease, and meet every situation with resource.

Such men as this are worthy of all honour, for they are the pillars of a nation's industry. It is against such men that the Socialist attack is directed.

XIII

The Ingredient of Intelligence in Commodities

It is a common fault with Socialists to regard wealth as consisting mainly of commodities, and the commodities as constituted mainly by Labour. The Socialist pictures the wealth of society as consisting of great stores of coal, wheat, clothing, and the like, amply sufficient for all members of the community, provided only that an equitable distribution of the commodities be made among those who need them.

This view of wealth is radically false. Wealth, it has been shown, consists finally of energies, human and natural.

It is divided into two main sections—Services and Commodities—the most valuable ingredient in both cases being intelligence.

A commodity is a concrete form of intelligence, natural force, and physical labour. The higher the intelligence embodied in the commodity, the higher its value.

A great painting is a commodity; and a great painter of pictures only differs from a house-painter by the measure of his intelligence. An ordinary decorator covers four walls with his work, and creates social value to the amount of, say, one pound. A Whistler covers four walls with decorative work and creates social value to the amount of five thousand pounds.

The difference in this case, amounting to £4999, is due solely to intelligence. But the ordinary decorator has to use some intelligence, as well as physical labour. If we estimate this at the value of ten shillings, it follows that, in the Whistler decoration, the intelligence is worth £4999, 10s., and the physical labour only 10s. In this instance, the intelligence embodied in the commodity is nearly ten thousand times as valuable as the physical labour.

Here are two extremes. In one case the intelligence stands in relation to the physical labour as 10,000 to 1. In the other case, intelligence and physical labour stand as 1 to 1.

Between these two extremes there is an infinite range of commodities in which the embodied intelligence and physical labour stand in various ratios of,

say, 5000 to 1, 1000 to 1, 500 to 1, 200 to 1, 100 to 1, 50 to 1, 20 to 1, 5 to 1, and so forth.

If we take an intricate productive instrument like the linotype composing machine, we find that the intelligence embodied in it consists of (1) the intelligence expended on the original invention and on a numerous series of subsequent improvements; (2) the enterprise of the business organisers and capitalists who saw the possibilities of the machine before others and carried the ideas of the inventor or inventors into effect; (3) the intelligence of the managers, travellers, and others who have built up the business and extended the advantages of machine-composing among the printing trade; (4) the intelligence of the draughtsmen, mechanics, and pattern-makers, who have helped to construct, fit, and adjust the machines from the inventor's designs; (5) the subordinate intelligence of the labourers who helped the mechanics with the rough work. The money-value of one of these machines being about £600, it is probable that about £500 is paid for intelligence, £40 for raw materials, and £60 for physical labour.

In the case of a quarter of English wheat, the value is made up of (1) the intelligent care of the landed proprietor, who keeps his land productive by preventing bad cultivation, ensuring a proper rotation of crops, and carrying out improvements; (2) the intelligence of the farmer, who knows how to use the land to the best advantage; (3) the intelligence of the agricultural implement-makers embodied in scientific appliances; (4) the subordinate intelligence and physical labour

of the farm labourer. In this case, intelligence and physical labour probably stand in the ratio of at least 5 to 1.

If we consider the amount of intelligence required in the production of machine-tools, furniture, clothing, electrical apparatus, locomotives, ships, bridges, and motor-cars; in the mining of coal, iron, copper, lead, and tin; in the raising of sheep, cattle, pigs, and poultry; in the building of houses; in the printing of books, magazines, newspapers, and pictures; in the clarifying of fats, and the making of soap, candles, and machine-oils; in the tanning of leather and skins, and the making of gloves and saddlery; and in the growing of wheat, oats, barley, hops, and potatoes,—we may safely assume that the all-round ratio of intelligence to physical labour in modern commodities is not less than 7 to 1, and that the ratio is steadily increasing. That is to say, that in the production of commodities, intelligence is seven times as productive and valuable as physical labour.

Intelligence, being the chief element of value, is necessarily the determining element in the price of commodities.

XIV

Enterprise

The most valuable of all economic qualities is enterprise. Enterprise is the great creator of new wealth.

Enterprise is the energetic application of intelligence. It combines initiative, daring, judgment, and persist-

ence. Enterprise devises new combinations, sees and seizes opportunities, turns chance events to advantage, and makes new openings.

The enterprising man is the pioneer of all social progress. A man of ordinary intelligence may see an opportunity: the enterprising man takes it. An inventor may devise an improvement: the man of enterprise carries it out. The man of system organises an old industry: the man of enterprise organises a new one.

The power of society to increase productivity depends on enterprise. The most perfect organisation could not save society from decay, if enterprise were not continually creating new values.

Labour is productive: but Enterprise is reproductive, fertile, expansive. Every substantial advance in economic prosperity is due to enterprise.

By enterprise deserts are made fruitful. Enterprise has covered the earth with railway and telegraph lines. The shipping industry was founded by enterprise. Machinery has been developed by enterprise.

The enterprise of Columbus resulted in the opening up of America, and an immense addition to the wealth of the world. The unintelligent labour of a hundred thousand workers could not have produced so vast a result.

The enterprise of the American people has overcome all the natural disadvantages of their country, and converted a few struggling colonies into an immensely wealthy and populous nation.

Where enterprise is plentiful, Nature always yields

up new stores of wealth. Where enterprise languishes, the whole order of society begins to stagnate.

Where social stagnation occurs, failure of enterprise may be predicated.

Enterprise is eminently an individual quality. That is to say, its source is in the individual. It is born of ambition—the desire to rise, accumulate, or achieve distinction. A man of enterprise is a man of ambition. Enterprise is intimately connected with the institution of private property.

An intelligent man with little or no property, who is desirous of bettering his own or his family's position, of regaining a social status lost by the misfortunes of his predecessors, or of sparing his children the hardships undergone by his parents, naturally and ardently casts about him for the means of accumulating wealth.

Conscious that a dull routine of unintelligent service will not advance him, and convinced that his intelligence is equal to that of many more prosperous men, he looks eagerly for special opportunities which may bring him fortune.

His desires stimulate his activities, enlarge his interests, and sharpen his critical powers. He sees many things open to improvement, and knows that by devising some special and much wanted improvement he can acquire wealth.

Enterprise connotes insight and self-confidence. The enterprising man has insight into certain social or productive possibilities unrealised by others; he has also confidence in his own powers to translate these possibilities into realities.

At the outset of his career the enterprising man generally stands alone, like Columbus. He finds it impossible to convince people of the prospects of social value he sees in certain directions. He must have faith in his own genius; eventually he infects some others with his own enthusiasm and obtains the means to make a beginning.

Upon this genius of insight and faith, which is the spirit of enterprise, society bases its hopes of social progress. To destroy or paralyse private enterprise is to undermine the foundations of national prosperity.

No injury to society or injustice to the workers can come from rewarding private enterprise according to the social values it creates, for Enterprise confers more benefits than it receives.

All members of society obtain surplus value through the labours of every man of genuine enterprise. Workers who have had no part in creating these values —who have even opposed their creation—draw their unearned share in the surplus value as certainly as the capitalist draws his interest for value received.

When railways were introduced in this country, they were bitterly opposed by many workers, as well as by some capitalists. Numbers of these same workers subsequently found employment at increased wages on the railways, and participated in the material benefits constituting the surplus value which society drew from the labours of Stephenson and the other enterprising founders of the railway system. Here is a clear case of Labour obtaining surplus value from Intelligence and Enterprise.

XV

The Possibilities of Enterprise

Failure to appreciate the present importance and future possibilities of Enterprise in the business of Production is one of the cardinal errors of the Socialist case.

There is a tacit but general assumption that Enterprise has become of less importance than Organisation; that society is nearing the limit of productivity, and that the need of the time is a more perfect arrangement of services; that the day of Enterprise is passing and the day of Organisation is come.

This assumption is implied in the Socialist argument that, for the future, it will be only possible to make the poor richer by making the rich poorer.

It has no foundation in fact. There is no finality in human intelligence, and no evidence that natural forces will fail to respond to the stimulus of enterprise.

Among the recent achievements of enterprise are the establishment of the motor-car industry, the invention and improvement of wireless telegraphy, the development of the turbine engine, the introduction of new business systems, the initiation of practical aërial navigation, the erection of garden cities, the development of the Colonies, the progress of building in the United States, the invention of mechanical typesetting, the growth of the popular press and the cheapening of books, the application of the gyroscope to mono-rail

locomotion, the improvement of hygienic methods, and a variety of scientific discoveries.

So far from the possibilities of Enterprise being near exhaustion, it is evident that they are greater than ever; that the economic field for the exercise of the human intelligence is unlimited; and that greater rewards await all members of society from the application of Enterprise to Production than have ever yet been received.

We are in sight of a promised land in which wealth will be created in far greater volume than we now possess; in which the condition of the workers will be far superior to their present status.

This is the time chosen by the Socialists for organised opposition to the Private Enterprise which has already produced such great results, and promises so much greater.

XVI

Class Improvement

Intelligence being the determining factor in the creation of value, it follows that the creation of social value by a particular class in the community is according to the general level of intelligence in that class. Class intelligence creates class value.

The comparative value of a class in a community in relation to other classes is determined by the general estimation of society; or, in other words, by the relation between the intelligence of a par-

ticular class and the intelligence of society as a whole. Society necessarily and automatically sets its own valuation on its own component parts.

Therefore the social remuneration of a particular class depends on the general estimation of society as a whole.

It follows that, although individual members of a class may be overpaid or underpaid, the whole class tends to be neither underpaid nor overpaid for the exercise of its class intelligence.

Therefore it is impossible for any class to improve its position except by using its class intelligence to create more social value.

The increase of class remuneration thus depends on the increase of class productivity. A class must create more value in order to receive more value.

The Capitalist class can only improve its position by using its class intelligence to increase the productivity of Capital.

The working class can only improve its position by using its class intelligence to increase the productivity of Labour.

The productivity of Capital can only be increased by enterprise—the energetic application of intelligence to Capital.

The productivity of Labour can only be increased by enterprise—the energetic application of intelligence to Labour.

The increase of productivity by Capital implies a more energetic and intelligent use of Capital in productive undertakings. The capitalist who aims at

ease and 4 per cent., instead of enterprise and 10 per cent., not only stints himself of wealth he could obtain, but stints society of the benefits of a free and active use of Capital and stints Labour of employment.

The worker who limits his productivity not only stints himself and his family of wages he could obtain, but stints his fellow-workers of employment.

If the whole community were energetic, Capital would obtain good profits and Labour good wages, while unemployment would decline to vanishing-point.

When Capital is enterprising, new undertakings and improvements are encouraged and a premium is put on invention, discovery, and higher organisation. New machinery is designed and constructed, new opportunities for trade are discovered, intelligence and skill are fostered in the workers. Great undertakings flourish, the output of factories is increased, new industries are started, and communications are made easy.

When Labour is enterprising, new and highly productive machinery is welcomed, and the advantages of higher organisation are understood. The workers are keen to devise and suggest improvements, and the machinery of production is kept running continuously and speedily. Wages rise as productivity increases, the workers live well, their children are well fed, money is saved, and class harmony is established.

For Capital and Labour alike, Enterprise and Productivity are the only ways to wealth.

XVII

The Rapid Circulation of Wealth

National prosperity is due to the rapid production and accumulation of wealth.

Wealth which is rapidly produced and accumulated is rapidly reinvested. Rapid reinvestment leads to a continual demand for labour, and such demand necessarily raises wages.

The rapid accumulation and reinvestment of wealth is favoured by good profits. All profit—all surplus value of any kind—is distributed through the community, either by the direct employment of labour or by reinvestment.

Thus when industrial profits stand at ten per cent., shareholders spend, say, five per cent., and reinvest the remaining five per cent. The first five per cent. goes to pay tradesmen and their assistants, house-servants, carriage and furniture makers, tailors, and so forth. The second five per cent. is invested in industrial and other enterprises, where it is used to employ fitters, smiths, weavers, carpenters, shipwrights, labourers, and others.

Nothing, therefore, is so good for the well-being of the working classes as a condition of good profits for capitalists and shareholders. Good profits mean more work and rising wages for the community as a whole.

The rapid production and accumulation of wealth implies energy, goodwill, and confidence.

When businesses are conducted in an unenergetic manner, their productivity is proportionately low. When confidence is shaken in the money market, capitalists and shareholders are chary of parting with their money. When goodwill is wanting between the different parties in the industrial combination, productivity is seriously stinted.

Rapid production implies rapid circulation of wealth. When the shareholder lacks confidence in the capitalist, the capitalist in the workman, and the workman in both, a vicious circle of distrust is set up, and productivity is trebly checked.

Non-confidence begets the vice of hoarding. The shareholder lets his capital lie idle, rather than risk losing it. The capitalist, for want of a free inflow of capital, is forced to discharge labour. The workmen, being thrown out of employ, are wretched and distrustful, and readily listen to the agitators who assure them that they are the victims of capitalist robbers. The infection spreads from them to other workmen, and a state of friction and non-confidence is set up between the workmen as a class and their employers as a class.

By these means, all-round productivity is further stinted, wages tend to fall, and unemployment increases.

What terrible effects the vice of hoarding can produce has been shown by recent events in the United States. A wave of non-confidence swept through the industrial combination, hoarding became almost universal, employers could not obtain money

wherewith to pay their workmen, and whole armies of workers were thrown out of employ.

Another effect of non-confidence is to drive capital out of the country. The levity of the Socialist economists on this subject is one of the signs of the utter irresponsibility of the movement.

It is asserted that, as the mines, the railways, the land and various other means of production cannot be exported, it is virtually impossible to drive capital out of the country. In view of the vast amount of British capital which is already invested abroad, this position is absolutely untenable.

Many millions of English money have been invested, for instance, in United States railways, for the sole reason that American railways have offered better profits than the English lines.

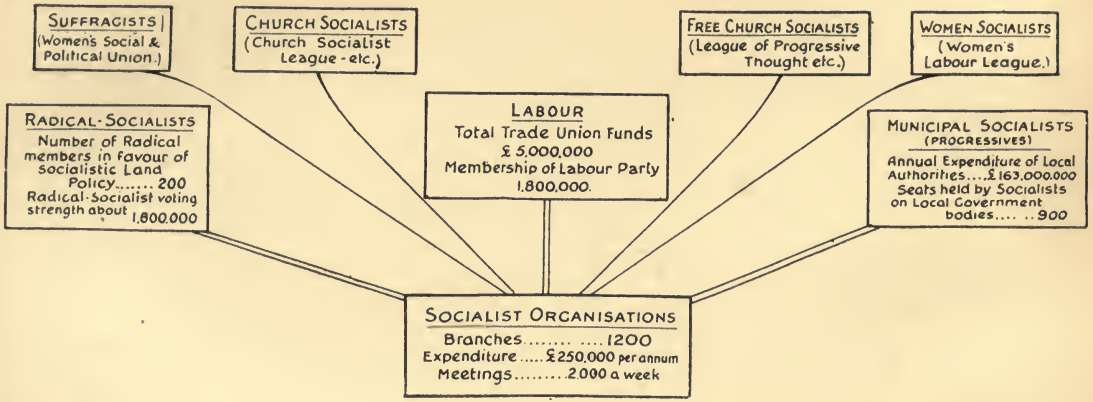
This English money has gone to provide employment for United States workmen. Had English profits been higher, the same money might have gone to provide employment for English workmen.

Whatever tends to diminish the security of investment, reduce profits, and check the circulation of wealth, tends to drive capital, which might be invested at home, to more productive areas abroad.

Whatever, on the other hand, tends to increase English profits, security, and circulation, tends to draw capital from foreign areas to England.

The financial charlatan on the one hand and the Socialist-Labour agitator on the other, are the two mortal enemies of the community. Both operate, in different ways, to destroy business confidence and

ALLIES OF BRITISH SOCIALISM



NOTE.—The diagram shows that the real strength of British Socialism is incomparably greater than that of the avowedly Socialist organisations. These organisations are merely the vanguard of an army which has strong support in the Radical party, the municipalities, the trade unions, and the churches.

PLATE IX.

prevent the proper and efficient action of the industrial combination.

When this combination is injured in any part, all the parties to it necessarily suffer. Anything which affects financial stability is an equal curse to the capitalist, the shareholder, and the workman. Although individual capitalists and individual workmen may thrive in times of industrial distress, it is a mistake for workmen to suppose that the capitalists as a class can in any circumstances profit by the loss or suffering of workers.

Any strike or lockout in which workers suffer is as injurious to capitalists as a class and the community as a whole as it is to the workers as a class. Capitalists as a class have absolutely no interest in lockouts or strikes, or any other industrial proceeding which injures workmen. Every strike which takes place tends on the one hand to lower the wages or lengthen the working hours of working men throughout the country; and, on the other hand, to lessen the security and profit of the owners of capital as a whole.

Conversely, any increase of prosperity to workmen as a class involves an increase of prosperity to capitalists and shareholders as a class. The workmen in one trade are the customers of another.

All capitalists and shareholders are engaged in producing to sell. The working classes form the largest class of consumers. The more they have to spend, the better for the capitalist and the shareholder.

Capitalists have, therefore, no economic interest in keeping down the wages of workmen. The same law

governs wages and profits. Under normal conditions, good profits and good wages are linked together. All that either capitalist or workman can rightly demand is that wages and profits shall rise and fall at the same ratio.

To sum up, the difference between high commercial prosperity and severe commercial depression is the difference between a rapid and a slow circulation of wealth.

The phenomenon of bad trade, which is commonly ascribed to over-production and other remote and insufficient causes, invariably means a slackening of national energy, a loss of business confidence, and consequently a semi-stagnant circulation of wealth.

The requisites for rapid circulation and high productivity are financial security, good profits, industrial energy, and class harmony. Whatever tends to shake financial confidence, lessen profits, undermine the good-will of workmen, and set up class friction, tends to produce commercial stagnation, unemployment, low wages, and long hours of labour.

XVIII

The Stinting of Productivity

It has been shown that the only way to class improvement for the workers is through increased productivity.

Therefore the Socialist contention that 'the harder a man works, the sooner he comes to the end of his

job and is thrown out of employment,' is a gross economic fallacy.

The man who stints his work wastes Labour. To waste Labour is as great a social crime as to waste bread.

The productivity of one man is another man's employment. To stint productivity is to stint work for other men.

Therefore every attempt by employed men to make jobs for the unemployed by stinting their own productivity must produce an absolutely contrary effect.

If the early builders of steam-engines and railways had acted on the Socialist contention, the development of the railway system would have been retarded, and employment denied to some millions of men now in work.

Work pushed forward creates more employment. Work delayed fosters unemployment. When the engine-fitter is shirking, the engine-driver is out of occupation. If the bridge is delayed in building, the traffic is kept back. While the shipwright dawdles, the sailor spends his savings. The plough-maker stints, and the ploughman starves.

XIX

Excess of Enterprise

In the increase of productivity by means of Enterprise, both Capital and Labour are called on to guard against excess.

Excess of enterprise in Capitalists leads to over-speculation. When it is found that good profits result from the energetic application of Intelligence, there is a tendency on the part of men of inferior judgment to attempt to make still larger profits by unsound ventures. The consequence is a sudden failure of credit and the waste of Capital.

Excess of enterprise in Labour tends to over-exertion on the one hand and friction on the other. When it is found that the continuous use of the newest machinery and methods at high speed creates great values, men of inferior judgment tend to drive themselves and others too hard, and to forget that machinery exists for men, not men for machinery. The consequence is the breakdown of either the men or the method, and a waste of Labour.

Here again it is only necessary to point out that the abuse does not vitiate the use. Enterprise must always be weighted with judgment.

XX

Private Industry and the State

Our national industry, built up and carried on by private enterprise, supplies the material resources which support the State.

That is to say, the State subtracts from Industry the means necessary for its own official subsistence.

Every pound's worth of taxation taken by the State is a pound's worth of Industry (*i.e.* Mental and Physical

Labour) subtracted from the community. Every penny received for rates and taxes is a penny taken from the incomes of the people.

Assuming the wages of an average working man to be £78 a year, every £78 worth of taxation taken by the State is equivalent to a working man's labour subtracted from Industry.

Therefore, when the State takes £78 in taxation, this is equivalent to throwing a man out of work—unless the State balances the transaction by employing another man with the money so obtained.

If the State takes £780 in taxation and wastes one-fifth of the amount, this is equivalent to subtracting ten working men from industrial employment and employing only eight in their place.

In so far as the State wastes wealth, it wastes industry, or mental and physical labour.

When the State wastes Labour, it increases unemployment. Either men are actually thrown out of work, or, being out of work, they are unable to get employment which would otherwise be obtainable.

If, for example, the State subtracts from Industry taxation to the amount of £78,000, being wages for 1000 men, and spends it on an unemployment scheme which provides work for only 750 men, this is equivalent to throwing 1000 men out of work to find employment for 750.

It is the almost universal experience that State service is more costly and wasteful than Private Enterprise. The knowledge that any deficit on the year's working can be made up from the pockets of the

taxpayers and ratepayers begets uneconomical administration. It is notorious that great quantities of army and navy stores are regularly amassed only to be wasted; that municipal bodies spend with profuse extravagance; that the Poor Law is wastefully administered. It is an accepted maxim among politicians that the English public service never gets more than fifteen shillings' worth of value for each pound spent.

Therefore the heavy increase in rates and taxes during the past fifteen years, and the uneconomical expenditure of the wealth so taken from Industry, have necessarily contributed to the prevailing unemployment.

It is obviously impossible to remedy unemployment by subtracting a certain number of men from private enterprise and employing the same number in the public service.

Therefore, when unemployment exists it is impossible for the State to provide a remedy by means of direct employment, unless the public service is much more productive and economical than private industry. Instead of subtracting a thousand men from private industry and employing seven hundred and fifty in the public service, statesmen must find a way of subtracting only seven hundred and fifty from private industry and employing a thousand in the public service.

That is to say, the State must succeed in making fifteen shillings go as far in the public service as a pound in the hands of private industry.

In some cases, the effect of increased State expendi-

ture may be to increase the hours of labour or to decrease wages.

Thus let us assume that there are a hundred workers with a combined income of £7800 a year. Assume that the State appropriates from them £780 in taxation, being the income of ten workers.

The direct result in this case is either to throw ten men out of work, or to lower the wages and spending-power of the hundred by a tenth, or to increase their hours of labour by a tenth.

If the ten men are not actually thrown out of work, the whole hundred will have to work for £7020 (£7800 less £780). Their incomes will then be reduced to £70, 4s. each.

Or, in the alternative, they may work longer hours, and so bring the £70, 4s. up to £78 again.

One of the three alternatives must happen. Every wasteful increase of taxation must either cause unemployment, or lower incomes, or lengthen hours of labour. Any considerable increase spread over a large area must necessarily produce all these effects, according to locality and the state of trade.

It should be observed that all State expenditure of any kind does not necessarily increase unemployment. Those forms of public expenditure which—instead of superseding private industry—protect, stimulate, and develop it, tend to create employment. Thus the expenditure on the Royal Navy, by protecting the commerce of the country and developing oversea trade, tends to create far more employment than the taxation, which is necessary to support it, abstracts

from private industry. So too with the expenditure on the police, the fire brigade, and other public services.

The form of public expenditure which most tends to increase unemployment is that which replaces Private Industry by Public Production.

The Socialist proposals, being expressly directed at the supersession of Private Enterprise by Public Production, are therefore inherently vicious as involving the substitution of the more wasteful form of production for the more economical; and, in so far as they are adopted, they must increase unemployment.

The specific Socialist proposals for remedying unemployment by setting the unemployed to work at afforestation and the reclamation of foreshores are therefore impracticable and dangerous. They involve the subtraction of heavy sums of money from productive private industry for expenditure on public works which cannot be productive for many years. They would throw large numbers of men in profitable employment out of work to find unprofitable occupation for a fraction of them.

XXI

The Unemployed

Socialist economists announce that their design is to bring together the unemployed baker who wants boots, and the unemployed bootmaker who wants bread; and denounce as illogical and monstrous the state of society in which these men, who both desire nothing

better than to supply one another's wants, are left workless.

The employment of the unemployed at trade union wages is therefore one of the Socialist proposals.

The workman's wage-value depends largely on his place in the industrial combination. When he forms a party in the industrial trio—capitalist plus shareholder plus workman—his labour has a high value. When he is not a party to that combination his wage-value falls heavily.

The bootmaker working in combination with capitalist and shareholder may be worth twenty-five shillings a week. The same man deprived of his alliance may not be worth ten shillings a week.

If all the unemployed, who desire nothing better than to cater for one another's needs, were set to work under their actual conditions—that is, without the help of the capitalist and the shareholder—their productivity would be very small. The baker would not be able to turn out more than a third of his usual number of loaves per week, and the bootmaker would be in the same predicament.

Therefore the process of setting the unemployed to cater for one another's needs, under their actual conditions, would result in the bootmakers starving, and the bakers going barefooted for eight months of the year.

In one way only would it be possible to employ these men at such remunerative wages that they would be saved from starvation. It would be necessary to supply them with capital, and administrators of the capital.

Whence is this capital to be obtained? The Socialists would obtain it from the State. The State, in turn, would obtain it by means of a tax. That is to say, the State would draw from private industry the means to provide these unemployed workmen with capital and administrators.

Apart from the fact, previously mentioned, that the withdrawal of this capital from private industry would necessarily leave a mass of unemployment in its wake, the only result of the act would be to set up a number of State bakeries and State boot-factories in rivalry to the private establishments. To do this at a time when there was not enough work for the private establishments—as shown by the men being out of employment—would be economic insanity.

The Socialist economist might inquire in this case, if there is no way of setting off the demand of the bootmakers for bread against the demand of the bakers for boots.

It should be noted that this 'demand' is not a true economic demand. It is not, that is to say, an effective demand.

It has no more existence as an economic factor than the 'demand' for motor-cars and diamonds in the slums of East London. Every person in the slums would probably like to possess these luxuries; but their desires have no commercial value.

What is an effective demand? Clearly, it is a demand with money behind it.

If these unemployed bakers and bootmakers had saved money when in employment, their demand for

boots and bread would be effective, because they could pay for the commodity.

The only real national remedy for unemployment is clearly the expansion of private industry. The only safeguard for the workman is to save money, or to insure himself in some other way, in order that his demand for commodities may be an effective one in the event of his losing his place.

XXII

The Right to Work

No member of the community can have any right to the creation or possession of spurious values. No person can have more than a doubtful or questionable title to the creation or possession of doubtful values.

Every man being the guardian of his own conscience, it is incumbent on the individual worker to see that he is engaged in producing genuine values, and equally so on the individual capitalist.

No man can have an absolute 'right to work,' insomuch as the right to work concedes a right to create social values of all kinds, spurious and doubtful as well as genuine.

The right of every member of society to create genuine social values is, however, undoubted. That is to say, every man has the right to work at some occupation beneficial to society.

The right to work, however, does not imply the right to demand work; just as the right to private property

does not imply the right to demand private property from another.

The right to demand work from the State does not exist. Even if such right existed, it would be conditioned in practice by the power of the State to comply with the demand. It has been shown that the State cannot provide work for the unemployed without creating unemployment in industry, unless the State administration is more efficient and productive than private industry.

Nevertheless, since the prevalence of unemployment is a sure sign of social stagnation, and a reproach to the social intelligence, it is incumbent on the State to stimulate and aid industry in such degree as to reduce unemployment to its irreducible social minimum.

XXIII

The Poor

The Socialist assumption that there are sufficient commodities in the country for all members of the community to possess in abundance is incorrect.

Makers of commodities all aim to produce as many as they can sell, and no more. When the public demand is supplied, no manufacturers are so foolish as to continue producing articles which cannot be disposed of. There may be a certain amount of over-production in a certain industry at a certain time, but general over-production is impossible. Making a small allowance for loss, destruction by fire, and depreciation,

it is evident that as many articles are produced as are required and sold. As commodities are required and bought in order to be consumed, it follows that virtually as many are consumed as are produced. Consumption and production practically balance one another.

If, then, it is a fact that thirteen million people in this country receive an under-sufficiency of commodities, it is also a fact that sufficient commodities are not produced, or obtainable under present conditions, for them.

Therefore, in order to improve the standard of comfort among the thirteen million people, comprising the unemployed and the poor, it is necessary to increase the production of commodities.

Clearly, however, no class in society can be expected to increase its own productivity simply to supply the thirteen million people with a sufficiency of commodities, without receiving any return. The boot industry, for instance, cannot be expected to increase its productivity in order to present the thirteen millions with boots, without receiving any return from them.

If the boot industry could get value for value from the thirteen millions, the manufacturers and workers would gladly supply them with all the boots they need.

It is thus impossible for private industry to contribute a greater supply of commodities to the thirteen millions, without receiving equivalent value in return.

It is equally impossible for the State to supply them with a sufficiency of commodities; for every

pound expended on them by the State must be taken from private industry, and must help to create unemployment.

The only way in which the thirteen millions can obtain a sufficiency of commodities for their own needs is to create more social value. That is to say, their class productivity must be increased.

Productivity can only be increased by intelligence and energy.

Therefore, the only permanent remedy for the poverty of this large class, apart from charity, is the increase of their class productivity by the heightening of their intelligence.

XXIV

The Rich

The position of the rich man in the community is widely misunderstood. It is not that of a great consumer of wealth, but of a great collector and distributor of wealth.

The wealthy man consumes very little more wealth than a man of the middle class. There is a limit to his eating and drinking capacities, and he can only wear out a certain number of suits of clothes.

Beyond this, his wealth means nothing but a certain degree of distinction, security, and refinement. He has the satisfaction of being pointed at—which, however, is no advantage when he takes a false step. He may surround himself with valuable works of art, books, and the like. The security bestowed by his

property is perhaps more apparent than real. Values may fall, losses may be made, and his life may be a perpetual financial worry. In some cases the value of his property may rise, as with London ground rents; in other cases it may decline, as with Irish and English land.

He has no exclusive possession in distinction, security, and refinement. Equal or greater distinction may be obtained by a poor man with mental endowments. The middle-class man or working man who is well insured has equal security. Refinement is open to all. The poorest man has free access to art museums, galleries, and libraries, containing treasures incomparably more valuable than those of the richest millionaires.

The place of the rich man in the economic system is that of a collector and distributor of values. He serves as an instrument of exchange between one set of workers and another.

Let us take the case of a London ground landlord with an income of £50,000 a year. His revenue is made up of many large and small sums paid by tenants for the right to use certain plots of land, his property, which they and he agree in thinking valuable.

The tenants rent these plots solely because it is of advantage or profit to them to do so. That is to say, the tenants obtain surplus value by the use of the landlord's land, precisely as the workmen in a given industry obtain surplus value by the use of the shareholders' money.

But how do these valuable sites become the ground landlord's property? He, his father, grandfather, and predecessors bought them when they were less valuable; that is to say, they bought the land at a time when it was an open question whether the land would become more valuable or not.

When they bought, other capitalists obviously did not think that these particular plots would become so valuable—or they themselves would have offered as much, or more, for the land.

The ground landlord and his predecessors had to back their judgment with their money. Had their judgment been wrong, they would have lost their money. As it was right, they are entitled to the increase; for the prospect of obtaining the increment is the incentive to enterprise and the cause of economic progress.

Agreeing that the ground landlord's income of £50,000 a year is his own by right, what becomes of it? It is all expended on some form of industry. Let us assume that £12,000 a year is spent on keeping up a town house, and a further £12,000 on a country house. £10,000 a year is spent on enlarging and improving the country estate; £6000 on insurance, depreciation, legal, and other similar charges; and the remaining £10,000 is reinvested.

Every pound of the £50,000 is thus spent on industry: in other words, every pound spent goes to employ labour of some kind. The £24,000 spent on the town and country houses goes to employ a retinue of servants, gardeners, labourers, house-decorators, and

the like, and to pay the bills of carriage builders, furniture dealers, butchers, poulterers, winesellers, bakers, and others, who employ labour with the money. The £10,000 spent on improving and enlarging the estate is either directly spent on labour and intelligence, or is paid to some other capitalist who himself spends or invests it and thereby employs labour. The £6000 spent on insurance and other charges goes in part to pay the salaries of professional men, who employ labour, and in part is paid to insurance companies which invest the money in railways and other undertakings which employ labour with it. Finally the £10,000 reinvested is either placed directly in business concerns where it employs labour, or is paid in exchange for house or other property to a capitalist or capitalists by whom it is used to employ labour.

Thus the rich man acts as a medium or instrument of exchange between two sets of workers. From a body of tenants on the one hand he receives £50,000. To a body of tradesmen, motor-mechanics, builders, gardeners, farm labourers, servants and others, he pays £50,000. The satisfaction he obtains from the position is the distinction it gives him, and the power of giving orders to the body of workers receiving the £50,000. Save that his power of command is far more restricted, his position in the latter respect is the same as that of the colonel of a regiment. He is, in short, a social centurion.

The business capitalist is in the same economic position as the ground landlord. He draws supplies

of capital from a body of shareholders (and from his own resources), and pays the money away in employing the labour of mechanics, shipwrights, engineers, labourers, cotton-weavers, bootmakers, and the like. From the combination of his intelligence, the shareholders' capital, the workers' labour and the forces of nature, surplus value is produced, part of which is repaid to the shareholders, who use it again in employing labour.

The error of Socialist economists consists in taking a one-sided view of this exchange operation. They depict the working-man as incessantly paying value to the shareholder, and omit to observe that the shareholder pays value for value to the working-man. The contribution of the working-man is not a tax or levy but a repayment, and the business capitalist acts as the instrument of exchange between the two classes.

Thus the ground landlord, the business capitalist, and the shareholder all use their revenues to employ labour. It is physically impossible for them to expend their wealth in any other way. Every particle of surplus value is therefore distributed through the community.

The men who act as the instruments of this distribution are powerful in proportion to the amount of wealth they distribute. A millionaire is far more powerful than a man with an income of £1000 a year. A Rockefeller is far more powerful than a man with a million. A Socialist State Director would be far more powerful than a Rockefeller.

XXV

Fluctuations of Value

All values, being subject to the estimation-value of society, are subject to incessant fluctuation.

It is impossible for any one value to remain absolutely constant for two successive days.

All values are measured against one another—the services of a statesman against the services of a labourer, wheat against gold. To say that wheat is cheap in relation to gold, is to say that gold is dear in relation to wheat. These relative values are determined by the productivity of classes and the estimation of society as a whole. As both the productivity and the estimation are constantly changing, all values must perennially rise and fall.

A pound sterling is worth what it will fetch in services and commodities. The proportion fluctuating week by week and day by day, no working man can ever receive exactly the same salary (measured in value) two weeks in succession.

In addition to the constant fluctuations in values there are steady upward or downward movements spreading over terms of years. There may thus be a general rise in prices during a period of ten years, side by side with the daily fluctuations.

The wellbeing of society is favoured when fluctuations are moderate and movements are gradual. Any violent fluctuations or sudden and excessive move-

ments seriously disturb the mechanism by which social values are created.

If the values of services and commodities fall suddenly and excessively, capital must be lost and workers must be thrown out of employment.

The operation of the social mechanism being dependent on the nice adjustment and harmonious working of its component parts, any factor tending seriously to disturb this adjustment must cause a general disturbance of values, and consequently a widespread loss of capital and employment: that is to say, a financial panic.

Any social movement which attacks the first principles of civilised society, and the elementary rights of tenure under which social values are created, must excite a disturbance in the social mechanism in proportion to its success.

Socialism being such a movement, it necessarily follows that the success of Socialism must create a violent disturbance in the social mechanism, bringing with it a financial panic and widespread loss of capital and employment.

XXVI

The People's Energy, the Nation's Wealth

All wealth, as already stated, is energy. From energy alone can energy proceed. By its energy a nation produces material wealth, and the measure of its energies is the measure of its wealth.

A nation's energies are mental, physical, and natural. That nation is wealthiest which best applies its mental and physical energies to the development of its natural resources and those of the world.

The natural resources of a nation are developed mainly by internal industry. The natural resources of the outer world are developed by foreign trade and industry.

Whenever a nation is seen to be wealthy, it can be predicated with certainty that the people are mentally and physically energetic.

As, under modern conditions, all wealth consists mainly of applied intelligence, it may also be predicated of any supremely wealthy nation that its people are mentally energetic to a high degree.

On the other hand, it may be predicated of any nation whose wealth is declining that the mental energy of its people is flagging. Or again, if any nation is falling behind in competition with other nations, it may be predicated that its people are falling behind others in the application of intelligence to industry.

Thus the vast wealth of the United States is the proof and product of the mental energy of the people. The relative slowness of the advance of Great Britain in the competition with the United States and Germany is due to the fact that the mental energy of the people has not been developed and applied at the same rate as their rivals'.

When a nation's wealth is declining, either positively or relatively, its duty is to revive the mental energies

of its people and to develop the resources of its empire. Energy and intelligence alone give the victory.

XXVII

Conclusions

Economics, the science of social values, has no finality, being conditioned by an unfathomed psychological element.

Capitalism (*i.e.* private Capitalism) is not a modern, but an ancient institution. It has endured for many centuries, and there is no evidence to support the assumption that it will not endure for many centuries more.

The wealth of society consists of social values.

Social values are created by (or, strictly speaking consist of) intelligence, natural forces, and physical labour. A nation's wealth finally consists of energies —mental, natural, and physical.

In the combination of these three forms of energy, the mental is the predominating factor. Accordingly, wealth consists mainly of applied intelligence.

Social values are of three kinds: Genuine, Spurious and Doubtful. The creators of genuine values are the real producers; the creators of spurious values are the non-producers.

Intelligence is the principal factor in the creation of values.

The money-value, or price, of services and com-

modities is therefore mainly determined by the average amount of intelligence in them.

Intelligence is the qualitative element in all industry or labour.

Classes are valuable to society in proportion to their class level of intelligence.

The general level of class intelligence, in relation to the general level of social intelligence, determines the position of a class in the community. That is to say, the remuneration of a class, or the share of social values received by it, is determined by the relation between its class intelligence and the social intelligence.

Individuals may be overpaid or underpaid, but on the average they receive social value in proportion as they create social value; and they create social value according to their level of intelligence.

Private property is the mainstay of the family. The accumulation of property proceeds from the desire to perpetuate the family.

The right to the possession, accumulation, and inheritance of private property is a fundamental human right, conditioned only by the right of the State to restrict excessive accumulation.

The right of the capitalist, or of the worker, to own and advance capital, is a fundamental right.

Capital consists of productive energies (intelligence, natural forces, and physical labour) employed for the creation of further wealth.

Capital is therefore entitled to interest under the natural Law of Increment.

The theory that Capitalists as a class exploit the

workers by appropriating surplus value created by Labour is false.

The source of surplus value is nature. It is shared by Capital and Labour in due proportions.

The abuse of Capitalism cannot vitiate the use. Any evils of the Capitalist system are to be remedied by the general extension of the system. The evolution of society is tending to make every man a capitalist.

The right to private property in land is as firmly established as the right to any other form of private property.

The only way in which a class can improve its position is by using its class intelligence to increase its productivity.

Enterprise, being the energetic application of intelligence, is the only medium by which either Capitalists or Workers can increase their productivity and improve their position.

Private enterprise is the life of commerce and production, and the mainstay of the State.

Every pound of taxation received by the State is a pound taken from Industry.

In so far as public administration—central and municipal—is wasteful, it is wasteful of Labour, and causes unemployment.

Public administration being demonstrably wasteful, some proportion of the unemployment now prevalent can be ascribed with certainty to the heavy increase in public expenditure during recent years. Further increases in public expenditure must further increase unemployment.

It is impossible for the State to provide a permanent remedy for unemployment, except by fostering private industry and developing the mental energies of the people.

Any attempt on the part of the workers to stint productivity increases unemployment, by wasting Labour.

All social values being created by classes of individuals in close co-operation, no class war or constant antagonism of class interests can be tolerated.

The mechanism of society being highly complex, and the free creation of social values being dependent on the effective co-operation of its component classes, any influence tending to set up a state of class antagonism must operate with disastrous effects on both Capital and Labour.

Even if the redistribution of national wealth proposed by Socialists were desirable, it would be impossible. A great part of the social wealth is indistributable.

All social values being dependent on social estimation, and consequently subject to great fluctuations, the first effect of a marked advance of Socialism must necessarily be a violent disturbance of values, a general failure of credit, and a ruinous financial panic.

Private ownership of land and the means of production being rightful and desirable, it is equally rightful and desirable that the general system of private property and private industry should be widely extended throughout the community.

Energy and intelligence are the guarantees of national prosperity. There are no others.

XXVIII

The Falsity of Socialism

Therefore Socialism, in so far as it involves all or any of the following consequences—

1. An organised attempt to bring about a Social Revolution by the action of a Class War;
2. An attempt to put an end to private property in land, capital, the means of production;
3. The assumption that the capitalist class lives by appropriating surplus value from the working classes;
4. An incitement to the working classes to expropriate the capitalist class;
5. The virtual extinction of private industry, and the substitution of wasteful public administration;
6. An immense increase in public expenditure, and consequently in taxation;
7. An incalculable decrease in social productivity through the abatement of individual incentive;
8. The enrolment of the volunteer workers of the State in a conscript army of production:

9. And a vista of revolutionary possibilities, including the abolition of capital and money, and the dissolution of the family,

is false in theory, vicious in principle, and necessarily disastrous in practice. It is inimical to the interests of nations, the cohesion of society, and the orderly progress of civilisation.

THE ALTERNATIVE POLICY

'It is impossible to get out of the confused aims of Social Reformers anything like a point of view, or an idea of social progress.'—Sidney Ball, *The Moral Aspects of Socialism.*

I

If not Socialism, What?

The magnitude of the problem, the imminence of the danger, and the seriousness of taking a step in the wrong direction are urgent reasons for an early national decision on the question of an alternative policy.

Is an alternative policy possible? Is it practicable? Is it necessary? To this triple question clear and definite answers must be given, or the Anti-Socialist cause is lost in advance. The leaders of the movement must be prepared to answer the first, in order to silence their enemies. The last, to satisfy their friends. The second, to convince neutrals.

'If not Socialism, what?' is the question continually flung, sometimes as a taunt but more often in all sincerity, at the destructive critic who addresses mixed audiences of Socialist and non-Socialist working-men. Mr. Sidney Ball, casting the same sentiment in other

words, charges the Social Reformers who refuse assent to Socialism with incoherence and confusion.

The Socialist attitude towards society on this question is marked by an insolent confidence which is natural to men whose economic teachings have not been forced to run the gauntlet of an effective and adequate battery of criticism. The Socialist, the prig in politics, has been too much petted, too little punished, for twenty years past.

But that attitude is not altogether without justification. In the twentieth century we cannot cry a halt to the masses when they begin to file off in a given direction, unless we are prepared to point out some other line of progress. Neither can we justify, or pack in one symmetrical sheaf, all the medley of Social Reform proposals which are fondly supposed by their authors to be antidotes to Socialism. In a word, there is, unquestionably, much confusion of thought and vagueness of aim on the fringe of the Anti-Socialist movement. That, however, is a natural feature of the present stage of development, and it will pass.

II

Need of a Positive Doctrine

That an alternative policy to Socialism is necessary, the whole current of European events, political and economic, sufficiently demonstrates. That such a policy is possible, I have endeavoured to show in the scheme of Anti-Socialist economics outlined earlier in

this volume. That the policy is sound and practicable remains to be proved.

But before discussing the policy we must examine the state of the people. Before prescribing the remedy we must understand the nature and extent of the evil. This, solely, we may premise at the start, that, whatever the remedy may be, it must be a great one. Socialism has this supreme advantage over rival propositions in the political field that it is all-embracing. It is nothing less than a complete scheme of society. Fallacious though it is in principle, and ruinous in tendency, its vastness cannot be denied. As compared with other schemes, it has the superior momentum and gravitative power of a great mass over a small mass. It cannot, therefore, be successfully opposed but by a social scheme of equal greatness.

It is one of the tenets of the Anti-Socialist Union that the Anti-Socialist campaign in the country must be a match for the Socialist campaign in extent, activity, and resources. This proposition is so sound that it needs only to be stated to be accepted. And yet it covers only a part of the ground. There is a great driving force behind the Socialist activities—the creed of social salvation—the all-embracing doctrine—the scheme of life and progress—which serves at once as gospel for the toilers and theory for the thinkers. It is comprehensive. What has Conservatism to do with art? What consolation has Liberalism for the social devotee? What has either creed to say on literature? Socialism has a simultaneous message for the artist, the modern Franciscan, and the man of

letters. No other political creed, except Toryism, has such manifold pretensions. For Toryism as a way of life a brilliant brief can always be made out. Toryism has its province in religion, in literature, in economics, in art, and in international politics. Conservatism, on the other hand, is not so much a doctrine as an attitude of mind; while Liberalism, as the term itself implies, stands for a temporary and transitional stage in the development of mankind from one order of society to another—the emancipatory era which forms the link between serfdom and manhood. Socialism professes to be the coming kingdom; and the vehemence of human desire for that new and settled order is the chief creative force behind the movement. Socialist emissaries, as they go about the industrial districts, find the ground already prepared for their advent. It is almost as if the soil were leaping at the seed.

Against this force—this extraordinary amalgam of false science and missionary faith in politics—only another great force can prevail. Activity must be matched with activity, workers with workers, organisation with organisation—but, above all, creed must be matched with creed. Society cannot continue to act on the defensive; and if the Anti-Socialist organisation is to be the right arm of society in combating the movement, it must have behind it the driving force of a positive doctrine. Without this the Socialists might be confronted, attacked, criticised, shouted down, and out-debated throughout the length and breadth of the three kingdoms, all to no purpose. It is not enough to call a halt. The people must know where they are

going. If not towards Socialism, whither? What is the route of march? What is the objective?

From these considerations three things follow. First, that an alternative policy must be found and advocated. Next, that this policy must be great, human, and comprehensive, and must not be negative. Last, that it must lead away from Socialism, and, in short, must make Socialism impossible.

III

Climax and Crisis

What, then, are the social conditions which the Alternative Policy is to remedy?

The social and political state at which England has arrived after a century of zigzag progress is one of extreme, of almost incredible, contrast. Transition is written on the face of things. Never were conditions fuller in the promise of prosperity or the facts of squalor. Invention multiplies wealth, and misery multiplies itself.

It is an age of anomalies. We see our ships on every sea, and our foreign trade grown to enormous proportions, while the ratio of unemployment mounts rapidly and hunger-marchers parade the very towns to which luxuries are brought from the ends of the earth. We see an Empire spending its strength in recruiting competing powers—Rome colonising Carthage: a nation of practical men, whose bread is in their enemies' hands: the first business people in the world a prey to

municipal anarchy. England, at the summit of her wealth and glory, bears a load of taxation and a mass of social misery never before experienced.

Respected and courted by all the world, we are at odds with ourselves. Friction between Capital and Labour increases, and an organised agitation, born in conspiracy, dares to aim at capturing and controlling the State. With all our wealth and progress the condition of one-third of our labouring classes is in nowise superior to the lot of primeval man. Our muddy streets are infested with an endless army of dirty and drunken degenerates. There is peace abroad and grief at home.

We have an Empire whose life-blood—its population—is congested at the heart and thin at the extremities. The mother nation, divided into two hostile factions in politics and religion, wastes in party struggles the energies which ought to develop the Empire: while seventy thousand local councils—petty governments—compete with one another and the State in spending the national resources.

The spectacle is one of the most extraordinary which the world has presented since the Gracchan epoch, when Rome took the first fatal steps which led to the permanent pauperisation and decay of her proletariat. All hangs in the balance. England has yet all the elements of strength within her, from which to compound an impregnable and progressive power, secure from internal trouble through the happiness of her people. Yet there are also such symptoms of social malady, and the battalions of Labour are so imbued

with the spirit of mutiny, that the situation is critical. It is a battle between social health and social disease; and the moment has arrived when either element may gain the mastery, and when, as a consequence, the organised efforts of a body of far-seeing men may tilt the balance and decide the issue.

IV

Our Undeveloped Domain

If, for our present purposes, we may now take a short survey of the country, in the spirit of Napoleon's fine monograph on Egypt, we arrive at the following:—

This is a kingdom of 45,000,000 inhabitants[1]—about 370 to the square mile. The country is more favourably situated for trade, as well as for attack and defence, than any other seat of Empire in the history of the world. The mineral and agricultural resources are great. The people, to judge by their achievements, are second to none in industry, invention, enterprise, colonisation, and literature, and are superior to all others in commerce and war on sea.

The Empire, apart from the kingdom, contains about 12,000,000 square miles and 13,000,000 white inhabitants, or one to the square mile. It is rich in minerals, and has every variety of soil and climate. Its fertile soil is capable of supporting a white population of 150,000,000 with ease, and its almost illimitable stores of wealth have yet been hardly tapped. Its

[1] Estimated population of the United Kingdom, January 1909.

resources are at least twice, and probably three times, as great as those of the United States, which support a white population of more than 70,000,000.

Thus, in the three great elements of wealth—energy, intelligence, and natural resources—this country is in an incomparable position. Taking into consideration our geographical and maritime advantages, there can be no question that the British people should be, individually and collectively, the wealthiest in the world.

Had the resources of the Empire been developed in the last half-century with as much energy and intelligence as those of the United States, it is probable that the white population of the Empire would now have been 90,000,000 or 100,000,000 instead of 58,000,000: that the wages of our workmen would have been the highest in the world; and that the social conditions of the people would not have presented many of the deplorable features we have now to discuss.

V

Public Expenditure

The annual public expenditure of the United Kingdom stands at about £300,000,000. Here is the first weak spot in the social system. This enormous figure, which includes both national and local expenditure, represents a burden of £6 13s. 4d. a year on every man, woman, and child in the State.

The increase of expenditure in the past twenty years

has been unprecedented, appalling, ruinous. Nothing can excuse it. The cost of conducting the affairs of this country in 1889-90 was approximately £153,000,000. While the population has increased by a fifth, and the national income by about a third, public expenditure has increased by nearly 100 per cent. This movement in national finance has coincided with the increase of Socialistic pressure on all administrators in favour of unlimited expenditure. The process is a form of applied Socialism, and has already resulted automatically in the socialisation of one-seventh of the national income, which now stands at about £2,000,000,000. That is to say, three shillings out of every pound earned by an Englishman to-day is taken from him by the State in rates, taxes, and loans. If public expenditure should grow at the same ratio during the next twenty years, a quarter of the national income would be socialised. There could be no more striking evidence of the danger of the coming of Socialism, and the pressing need for a definite alternative policy: for the greater part of this enormous expenditure was incurred by public men who were not Socialists. They yielded, however, to the clamour for a greater and greater outlay, not apparently realising that every increase of public expenditure which is out of proportion to the national income necessarily results in the socialisation of capital, and unaware that this is the process by which Socialists hope to entangle society in Socialism against its will.

The national government has sinned greatly in this serious matter: but the local bodies have out-Heroded

Herod. Local expenditure in this country, which stood at £66,000,000 in 1889-90, rose to the monstrous figure of £163,000,000 in 1904-05—an increase of nearly £100,000,000 per annum in fifteen years. To characterise this growth of expenditure, it suffices to say that no such sudden and immense increase has been known before in the history of the world.

The effects of this ruinous finance have been seen and felt. The municipalities, subject to no effective financial restraint, have vied with one another in increasing the rates, the assessments, and the local debt. They have plunged into trade, and harassed the ratepayers. They have competed with the national government in the money market, and depreciated the value of government stock. They have withdrawn capital to the amount of hundreds of millions sterling from private industry, where it produces and circulates rapidly and employs the maximum of labour, to invest it in expensive and unsound municipal trading, which, pound for pound, employs only the minimum of labour.

If we wish to explain the abnormal ratio of unemployment which afflicts the country, we must reflect on the consequences of withdrawing the vast sum of £300,000,000 every year from the national wealth, and laying it out in wasteful, stagnant, or unproductive public services. If we assume that one-fourth of the whole amount goes in waste of various kinds—waste labour, overlapping of services, inefficient control, superfluous appointments, corruption, and general under-efficiency as compared with private enterprise

—we have an amount of £75,000,000 per annum: that is to say, a sum sufficient to employ a million workers in productive private industry.

Beside this terrible increase in taxation, the growth of the public debt is a matter of less concern. The national debt of £774,000,000, and the local debt of about £600,000,000, are, indeed, serious items, together totalling about £1,400,000,000. But the annual increase of £150,000,000 in public expenditure, if capitalised at 3 per cent., represents the vast sum of £5,000,000,000. Had we added this amount to the public debt of the kingdom in the last twenty years, and contracted to pay interest upon it at the rate of 3 per cent. in perpetuity, we should have been in no worse financial predicament than at present, when there is every prospect of the £150,000,000 being further increased through the improvidence and cowardice of public men.

Other empires have taken on themselves crushing loads of debt and taxation in time of war to gain great ends. We alone heap up great financial burdens in time of peace, to silence the clamour of opponents and gratify the vanity of local councillors.

VI

Condition of the People

The condition of the people is a problem which has frightened many persons into Socialism. The problem cannot be escaped and the facts must not be ignored.

Both being so serious, it is the more incumbent on us to refuse to tolerate the systematic exaggeration and misrepresentation on this subject which have found a place in the Socialist propaganda.

It is continually asserted by Socialists, as an admitted fact, that 13,000,000 people in this country are living on the verge of starvation; further, that the 'workers' or the 'masses' receive only a minor fraction of the national income. This minor fraction is variously estimated at one-seventh, one-sixth, one-fourth, and one-third.

These statements are not only incorrect, but absurd. Mr. Chiozza Money, of the Fabian Society, divides the nation into three classes: the Rich, numbering 1,250,000; the Comfortable, numbering 3,750,000; and the Poor, numbering 38,000,000. The division is arbitrary and fallacious. To classify all the mechanics, school-teachers, small tradesmen, civil servants, clerks, farmers, commercial travellers and others with incomes of less than £160 a year among 'the Poor' is a quite unjustifiable proceeding.

The key to the social condition of the people is the statement founded on the researches of Messrs. Booth and Rowntree, that approximately 13,000,000 of our people live on or below the poverty or hunger line. This must be accepted as substantially correct; and it is altogether different from the exaggeration that 13,000,000 people are living on the verge of starvation.

The facts of the social condition of the people may be stated as follows:—

Economically, the nation divides itself into four

great sections—the Rich, the Well-to-Do, the Comfortable, and the Poor. The first section is self-explanatory, the second consists mainly of the middle and upper middle classes, the third comprises the lower middle classes and the superior working classes, and the fourth consists of the really poor—those who live on or below the poverty line. Thus:—

	Persons.
1. The Rich, . . .	1,000,000
2. The Well-to-Do, . .	5,000,000
3. The Comfortable, . .	26,000,000
4. The Poor, . . .	13,000,000
Total, .	45,000,000

There are, on the present estimates of population, as nearly as possible 20,000,000 workers—men, women, and youths—out of the total population of 45,000,000. The 25,000,000 non-workers consist almost wholly of women and children: the idea that there exists a large class of 'idle rich' is a complete fiction. The average working-class family contains about 4·5 members, of whom two are workers, most often father and son.

Of these 20,000,000 workers from 5 to 10 per cent. —that is to say, from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000—are commonly unemployed.

The third class—the Comfortable—is the industrial and commercial backbone of the country. It comprises, in addition to a large number of small tradesmen, clerks, public employees, and others, about 10,000,000 workers of the artisan class. The mechanics

and labourers of this class are the genuine British workmen—the builders of our ships, locomotives, and bridges; the miners, weavers, carpenters, farm labourers and seamen. These, as a class, are the pick of the world's workers—strong, industrious, intelligent, and provident.

The great mass of the social misery from which this country suffers is centred in the fourth class. It is the residuum—the sink of the nation. It comprises a large proportion of the 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 unemployed, and some hundreds of thousands of sweated workers. In its ranks are included a considerable proportion of physical degenerates, and practically the whole of the class of 2,000,000 British paupers. There is, further, a large section of criminals, lunatics, drunkards, tramps, and loafers. Lastly, it contains an unusually high percentage of widows and aged and infirm persons, left behind by the stream of emigration.

The 13,000,000 may be classified as follows:—

Hopeful Class, . .	4,500,000
Doubtful Class, . .	4,000,000
The Unfit, . . .	4,500,000

That is to say, there is a sheer residuum of about 4,500,000, which is so unfit — either degenerate, pauperised, drink-sodden, unintelligent, or infirm— as to be a constant burden to the community. On the other hand, there are 4,500,000 members of the casual-labour class who may be lifted up with care and discrimination; and there are 4,000,000 more who

have not yet descended to the unemployable level, and might be brought to economic salvation. The net result is that one-tenth of our people are out of action, and that one worker in every three is under-fed and under-efficient. This result is not inspiring: but at least we have the satisfaction of knowing that the evil is confined to a specific section of the community, which is susceptible of special treatment, and that the disease is not spreading like a gangrene through the whole of the social tissues.

The assumption that the 'workers' receive only a minor fraction of the national income — that they receive only fourpence out of every shillingsworth of wealth they create—is one of the main fallacies of the Socialist case as to the actual condition of the people. It is widely asserted that the National Income—that is to say, the conjoint income of all persons and classes in the community—amounts to about £1,800,000,000 a year; and that the workers receive only some £690,000,000 of the total. Other assertions, in which the amount of Labour's fraction is variously stated, are made, as we have seen: but this statement is typical, and has been repeated innumerable times.

The figures are not only wrong, but impossible. If we divide the nation arbitrarily into two classes, capitalists and workers, it is found to be mathematically impossible for the second class to receive less than one-half of the national income, owing to the constant flow and counterflow of wealth between the two sections. It would be as absurd to maintain that, of two nations, A and B, engaged in commerce, it is

possible for A to export regularly to B £690,000,000 worth of commodities per annum, while B exports regularly to A £1,100,000,000 worth per annum.

In no conceivable circumstances can the total income of the workers be less than the total income of the capitalists—the capitalist being a distributor as well as a receiver of wealth. As a matter of fact, it is impossible in practice for the capitalists as a class to receive even a half of the national income, since the position held by the capitalist as a receiver and distributor is also held by many workers. On actual examination it is found that the workers, mental and manual, receive not less than three-fourths, and probably four-fifths, of the whole national income of this country. In other words, the national income of Great Britain is now approximately £2,000,000,000, of which the workers receive £1,500,000,000 to £1,600,000,000, or not less than ninepence in every shillingsworth of wealth annually created. The balance received by the capitalists does not amount to more than about five per cent. on their accumulated capital.

Thus, whatever complaints are made by the workers of this country about the insufficiency of their earnings —and such complaints are just—apply not so much to the division of the national wealth between the classes, as to the insufficiency of the total wealth in comparison with our natural advantages and the earnings of other nations. The social problem, therefore, is not how to take from one class to give to another, but how to increase the national wealth.

VII

Bad and Good Signs

The question of the condition of the people is bound up with that of the factory system and the agglomerative tendency of capital. It has been predicted by Socialists that the growth of the harsh factory system and the consolidation of industrial capital would themselves force on Socialism by way of reaction.

The prediction is valueless. The worst evils of the crude nineteenth-century factory system have been eradicated by the Factory Acts, and a number of capitalist employers are letting the world see, as at Port Sunlight and Bournville, how well the business of production may be conducted amid the amenities of life. It is true that large capitalistic concerns abound, and that there is a natural tendency in certain trades, and under certain conditions, towards the consolidation of capital. But the tendency is by no means universal. On the one hand the trust, so long as it is below and not above the law, as is certainly the case in Great Britain, is not an unmitigated curse to the workers, who have found that good salaries are more often paid by large businesses than by small. On the other hand, it cannot be disputed that the small trader has not been crushed out of existence. A walk down the High Street of any provincial town or London suburb shows that three-fourths or four-fifths of the shops and businesses are in the hands of local firms.

The housing of the people is, by common consent,

acknowledged to be one of the great problems before the nation. Slums and mean streets are still the staple thoroughfares of the working-classes districts. Overcrowding sacrifices the health and morals, and the depressing monotony of wildernesses of brick deadens the souls of the toilers. Another *Alton Locke* might still be written, hardly less terrible than the original. So inhuman and repellent, indeed, are the conditions under which our proletarians live that there is great danger of a lapse into Socialist housing principles to provide a remedy.

As to property in either house or land, the mass of the people have none; in which respect they are in the precise position of the Roman legionaries, who were styled the masters of the world when they had no property in a single rood of earth and were adjured by rhetorical generals to strike for their hearths and homes, when they had no roof over their heads to call their own. Yet there are signs of promise for the future in the fact that working-class savings have increased more rapidly than the annual wealth of the country. In fourteen years the deposits in the post-office savings bank have increased by 100 per cent., and the sales of co-operative societies have mounted in the same ratio.

Wages have risen in the last two decades by about 20 per cent., but the remarkable fact remains that the general conditions of our working-classes are from 20 to 25 per cent. inferior to those of the great colonies, and about 33⅓ per cent. inferior to those of the United States.

VIII

The Test of Racial Strength

The state of the national trade presents the same broad features as the condition of the people. There is a positive advance, but a comparative decline. If the United States and Germany had no place on the map of the world, we might felicitate ourselves on a great and unprecedented increase in commerce; but in a world of international rivalries it is the comparative standard which rules.

The two great economic standards whereby to judge the strength of western nations are the population and the earnings of the people. No nation can thrive but by virtue of maintaining a steady and increasing supply of healthy sons. The final test of national prosperity is the quantity and quality of the human stock. Under the laws of evolution forty million efficients will always displace thirty million non-efficients. By neglecting to maintain the number and quality of her native citizens Rome fell. This is the one sure road to imperial decay. A healthy and enterprising population, numerous in proportion to its rivals, cannot be overthrown.

Judging by these two standards, the Empire started level with the United States in the contest for economic supremacy about the year 1870. The white population of the two countries and the average level of working-class conditions were nearly equal. Since that year, however, the Empire has been out-distanced by the

United States in white population by 25 per cent., and in average working-class earnings (after due allowance has been made for the different cost of living) by 33⅓ per cent. There is the same great difference in the total trade of the two countries, foreign and internal. Thus the white workers of the States have grown at once more numerous and richer.

In discussing this subject, stress is always laid on the vast resources of the United States. Great as those resources undoubtedly are, the resources of the Empire, as we have noted, are still greater. Whence, then, this disquieting discrepancy?

We ourselves are largely responsible for the conditions. Under an insensate system, for which all parties must share the blame, we have permitted, and virtually encouraged, a vast emigration which has transfused much of the best Anglo-Celtic blood from this country to the United States, where it has been gladly received.

Our gross loss from emigration since 1815 has been about 14,000,000 persons, of whom nearly 9,000,000 have gone to the United States. This total is reduced by immigration and remigration to 6,000,000 net. An unduly high percentage of these 6,000,000 emigrants have been men in the prime of health and vigour. Women, old men, and the infirm have been left behind to multiply the residue, whose terrible condition now forms our greatest social problem.

This transfusion of blood has enriched the United States while impoverishing the United Kingdom. The 6,000,000 emigrants, with their natural increase, now represent a total population of 14,000,000 to 16,000,000

persons—the flower of the American industrial workers. There has been a double detriment to the mother country. The direct loss of so large a population is irreparable. It is as though we had presented to the United States seventeen cities the size of Glasgow. But the effects on a large section of our residual population of 13,000,000 have been still more serious. Deprived of the virile stock which belonged to them, they have steadily sunk in the social scale, and now display the worst symptoms of degeneration and in-breeding.

IX

A National Crime

Among the blots on the present system is the condition of the national agriculture, for whose decline both great parties must again accept equal responsibility. British agriculture has been allowed to decay in the face of the plain teachings of all history. Seventy years ago England employed 2,000,000 people on the land. That number, having regard to the national needs, should have increased to 4,000,000. It has sunk instead to 1,000,000. Formerly, with inferior appliances and methods, we were able to grow 14,000,000 or 15,000,000 quarters of wheat with ease. Our annual wheat crop has now fallen to 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 quarters—about a fifth of what we need.

This decline, which strikes at the root of the national security, in that it withers the home reserves of men

and food alike, has taken place in England while agriculture has prospered in countries to the south, the east, the north-east, and the west. Neither soil nor climate, therefore, can be blamed for the result.

The danger does not end here. As if this sin against the wisdom of history were not complete, statesmen have even neglected to ensure a sufficiency of foreign wheat. England is left a nation without a granary. A royal commission has considered the subject, and it has been found that at certain periods of the year there is less than a fortnight's supply of wheat in the country. Our whole dependence is on our command of the seas. Spain made the same cardinal error when sending the Armada against us.

The position of the country in this matter can only be described as insensate. If it were proposed to depend on foreign countries for our supplies of powder and guns, the folly of the suggestion would be obvious. The safety and immediacy of our wheat supply in time of war is a far more serious matter. A fiftieth part of the amount absorbed in local expenditure would secure it. The neglect is culpable.

Here we may conclude our short survey of the state of the country. To summarise, we see a people surging with discontent, and played upon by astute agitators: the beginnings of the Class War: capital and labour at variance, both sides organised and stubborn: a third of the workers sunk in misery and degeneration: trade and wages expanding, but not in proportion to the wealth of rival nations: agriculture neglected: emigration bleeding the race: the middle-

classes harassed by taxation and the working-classes by unemployment: the national finance unsound, and expenditure advancing by leaps and bounds: the food reserves perilously low: and public affairs controlled by two hostile parties, each more anxious to forestall or reverse the measures of the other than to increase the strength of the Empire, while at the same time the actual power of administration passes more and more from the central authorities to the local. Such, while the cloud of social revolution thickens over Europe, and foreign eyes scrutinise the weak points in the structure of this Empire, which appears nearly ready to collapse on itself at one well-aimed *coup de foudre*, is the state of this country in 1909. These are the conditions with which the alternative policy has to deal. At all points Socialism has some kind of remedy to offer. We must be prepared with another.

X

Some Proposed Alternatives

Several proposed alternatives are already in the field. Apart from the miscellaneous unauthorised programmes of earnest amateurs, ingenuously composed of Socialism and Conservatism in equal proportions, and the surprising efforts of our Rutherfords who, dreading the devouring maw of Socialism, propose to end the suspense by walking rapidly into the lion's mouth, there are Tariff Reform, Social Reform, Liberalism, and Individualism.

Tariff Reform is not in itself, and cannot be made, an alternative policy. It was never intended, and could not be proffered by any intelligent being, as a sufficient remedy for the social evils of the time, or as a rival to a comprehensive scheme of social regeneration. Fiscal reform, as it is more properly called, is a specific proposal designed to effect a certain restricted purpose.

What has Tariff Reform to do with the housing of the people? What guidance has it to offer in the treatment of social degeneration? How can it encourage the saving of child life, or promote education, or extend small holdings and allotments? What has it to say on leasehold enfranchisement, hours of labour, the taxation of land values, sweating, and factory regulations? How can it be suggested as a cure for Socialism among the workers, when we find Socialism even more deeply rooted in protectionist countries than here? If Tariff Reform is to wean the British workman away from Socialism, how comes it that German Socialists lean towards Free Trade?

A statesmanlike and prudent scheme of fiscal readjustment may indeed, as will be shown presently, fit in with a genuine alternative policy. It is certain that a blatant and sweeping protectionist tariff would double the forces of Socialism. If such a tariff should create an army of mushroom millionaires and an array of ruthless trusts after the American model, if it were to raise wages in certain favoured industries while leaving the 13,000,000 in their misery, it would not only breed bitter discontent, but would alienate the

sympathies of the most intelligent workers and do an irreparable injury to the Empire.

Social Reform, as an alternative policy, has a more promising sound. But what does it mean? Reform in what direction? If a scheme of Social Reform were to consist in throwing sops to those who clamour loudest in the name of Labour, Social Reform would gradually resolve itself, with Fabian help, into a scheme of Socialism by favour of the enemy. It would be easy, indeed, to draw up an attractive and seemingly innocuous programme of social reform, every item of which should be Socialistic in tendency.

Social Reform is not a principle. It tells us nothing as to how we may escape Socialism. It holds out no objective and offers no guidance. 'High rates and a healthy city,' the old Birmingham motto, was a maxim of Social Reform. In the name of 'high rates and healthy cities' we now have municipal Socialism. In this case Social Reform was used as a cover by the Socialists, with entire success; and municipal history will repeat itself in national politics, unless we decide the principle on which our social reform is to be carried out.

Liberalism, according to Mr. Asquith, is the one genuine alternative policy to Socialism. But Liberalism, as opposed to Socialism, has no more definite meaning than Social Reform, and a Liberalism which advances with Socialism on its left arm, and passes, on occasions, under the joint name of Progressivism is a strange alternative indeed. We are invited to accept Liberalism in order to save ourselves from Socialism: that is to

say, to accept chicken-pox in order to ward off small-pox—the milder form of the disease as a vaccine against the more virulent. By a strange coincidence, the Socialists bid us accept Socialism to ward off Anarchism; yet when we scrutinise Anarchism we find it to be only an extreme form of Socialism.

Individualism is still preached, though forsaken by the world. Publicists of the narrow, logical order, having discovered that individualism is the direct antithesis to Socialism, continue to propound that dreary doctrine to an inattentive public with the patient pertinacity of the street-corner speaker without an audience.

But in the world of practical politics, the victory goes not to antitheses but to antagonisms, and political antagonisms are political alternatives. The masses being in motion, we may divert their line of march: we cannot reverse it. The individualists are the impossibilists of Anti-Socialism, and it is probable that a certain section of them will resist any practical Anti-Socialist policy with more determination than they have ever displayed in opposing the Social Democratic Party.

Extreme individualism is simply anarchism. To deny the State the right to coerce minorities, to regulate factories, or to interfere in disputes between Capital and Labour, is almost as irrational as to deny the State the right of policing the towns. A century after the first Tory Factory Acts, however, the Liberty and Property Defence League still continues a semi-animate campaign, crying 'Halt!' to Progress and

'*laissez-faire!*' to the governments of the day. Neither in nor out of politics, its position is an anomaly and its policy an anachronism. It would leave humanity in the ditch and reduce the State to a mummy.

Of all policies intended to remedy the social evils of the day or to win the workers away from Socialism, individualism is the most hopeless. Its propaganda has been a feeble failure, and its remonstrances are spurned by all parties. If we are to believe the devotees of this neglected cult none but individualists are fit to fight Socialism. They have been fighting Socialism with the aid of Spenser and Bastiat for the better part of a generation, and the results we see.

The individualism which is criticised here is, of course, that crude and materialistic creed which has thrown off slums in England and bred hustlers in America; that doctrine whose final expression is the execrable maxim 'Get on or get out!' In a sense, we are all individualists; as, in a sense, we are all Progressives. There are no countries where men are more individual and self-reliant than England and the United States: none where men are more proudly prepared to fight the battle of life. But individualism in the sectarian sense is effete. It is based, like Socialism, on a false, because an extreme, view of life. Society is neither a mere aggregation of individuals, nor a collocation of masses. It is an association of families endowed with private rights and mutual responsibilities. The true ideal of social progress is neither individualism nor Socialism: it is a condition of balance between the rights of the individual and the powers of the State.

XI

The Social Reformation

The faults of our social system are faults of neglect and confusion. Grave as the symptoms of social disease are, it cannot be doubted that we have yet within us, as a nation, the elements of strength and health necessary to save the body social from present disorder and future decline. By common consent we need a social reformation. Our policy must be a policy of readjustment.

We have to achieve great ends—to bring prosperity to the Empire, content and comfort to the workers, security to capital, help to the unfortunate, our institutions into line with the age, and stability to our institutions. We cannot do so without a policy of State Action.

The alternative policy, it goes without saying, must be national and imperial. Socialism is powerful because an international force. The only forces which are strong enough to overcome it are those of nationality and patriotism.

Here, then, are the three fundamentals of the new policy. It must be, first, a policy of State Action; next, a national policy; and, third, a policy of readjustment.

Such are the necessities of the social situation. We have to seek, in our quest for an alternative policy, not a clever invention, but a great social fact. In politics we may combine, we may interpret, we may lead, but we

cannot create forces. We must use the actual forces of the time, and, by our activity in welding or eliminating, may help to set up those new lines of cleavage and of adhesion which result in the reconstruction of parties.

The conditions of the present and the requirements of the future being all in favour of social reconstruction —the Unionist party being even more deeply committed to social reform than the Liberal—it is evident that, from every point of view, practical and humane, our policy must be one of action; and, since the action is to be taken by political means, State Action is its only possible form.

The new policy must be vital, fertile, and expansive; not reactionary, sedentary, stagnant. It must be positive, not negative; popular, not anti-popular. It must recognise and remedy social evils. It must not merely defeat the Socialists, but win the people. It must energise the State, not reduce it to inanition. It should enlighten and uplift, not oppress the democracy. It comes to quicken, not to stereotype, the social system.

By State Action is meant the legitimate activity of the State in the economic as well as the political field: activity, however, not in the direction of Socialism but in opposition to it. Since Socialism stands definitely for public ownership of the means of production, Anti-Socialist policy must as definitely foster private ownership in the means of production. While Socialists are striving for the absorption of industries by the State and the municipalities, Anti-Socialists must be

prepared to fight for the principle of private production to the end, and at all costs.

Here is the crucial point at issue between the two policies, and it is one on which there can be no shadow of compromise. It is the key of the position—the Hougomont in the Waterloo of the Class War. If Anti-Socialists fail to combat the policy of public ownership with the utmost determination, they may see the whole of their defence-works taken by successive assaults.

XII

State Action

There is even yet so much confusion in the public mind as to what is and what is not Socialism—whether, for example, the post office and national roads are or are not Socialistic—that I may be pardoned for setting in as clear a contrast as I can the distinctive character of these two opposing principles.

State Socialism is a scheme of social regeneration by the appropriation of all capital, land, and industries by the State. Under Socialism the State will not merely organise but own the whole of the productive industry and the national commerce. The business of this great State monopoly is to be conducted by political methods, under democratic control.

State Action is a system of social adjustment under which capital, land, and industry, will be privately owned and managed, but publicly controlled.

State Socialism asserts the power of the State to take over, with or without compensation—and if with compensation, at its own valuation — any business which is making profit.

State Actionism asserts the supremacy of the State over the conduct of businesses, and its right to intervene to put a stop to disputes.

State Socialism is a plan to stifle or suppress private industry.

State Actionism is a system of assisting and stimulating private industry.

State Socialism aims to compete, to expropriate, to absorb: State Actionism to aid, to protect, to control.

State Socialism attacks private capital. State Actionism designs to increase the volume and security of private capital.

The State Socialist advocates the use of the resources and powers of the State to destroy private industry and appropriate private property, while the State Actionist thinks it right to use the resources of the State to foster private industry and extend private property. The motto of the Socialist is 'Public ownership at all costs.' The maxim of the State Actionist is 'Private enterprise: public control.'

State Socialism would promote pauperism and discourage thrift. State Action would encourage thrift and treat pauperism scientifically. The policy of Socialists is to help all indiscriminately. That of State Action is to help those who will help themselves.

State Socialism would enlist all able-bodied adults

in a conscript army of labour. The State would then be both master and judge of all the people. Under State Actionism the workers would always be able to appeal to the State to judge between them and their employers.

State Socialism would cramp the productivity of the people by reducing the incentive to work. State Actionism would increase productivity, and with it the wealth of the people, by safeguarding and stimulating private industry, and giving a new zest to labour.

XIII

The Function of the State

At the base of these two doctrines are different conceptions of the functions of the State. The Socialist wishes to see the State all in all—the owner of all lands and houses, the manager of all businesses, the employer of all labour, the paymaster of all society. State Actionism, on the other hand, is a conception of the State equally removed from Socialism and Individualism.

What is the State? And what is the State of the future to be? Has the State, or the Government which is its temporary form, no existence other than that of the individuals composing the community, as Bastiat suggests?

It is an error to suppose that the State has no real existence in itself. It would be as incorrect to say that a crowd has no soul other than that of the

individuals composing it; or that a regiment of soldiers has no character apart from that of the men who join it. The State is a real thing. It is the permanent power of government which continues through various administrations, and is constituted by the wisdom, will, and tradition of the nation. It is that which lives when kings die, stands when governments fall, and endures when parliaments are dissolved. It is the State which punishes or rewards through the laws. The monarch, the ministry, the privy council, and the legislature are all servants of the State.

The modern conception of the State has undergone some change, which Socialists would convert into a revolution. The general conception is broader, more humane, more scientific than of old. The nineteenth century witnessed one of those waves of aberration which political philosophers are wont to set in motion; and for a time it was seriously contended that the State had no right to coerce minorities, to restrict any man's liberty, or to touch any man's property. But if we survey the world as a whole and history as a coherent evolution, we find a general consensus of agreement as to the rights and functions of the State, qualified only by the progress of mankind towards toleration and humanity. It is no longer held that the State has the right to compel people to accept a particular form of religion: but it has always been held in civilised nations that the State has a specific province in the life of the community, and that the individuals or families have another.

The *laisser faire* theory, which would have narrowed the province of the State to the irreducible minimum, and opposed all State Action as 'interference,' has gone its way. It was eccentric, novel, and nothing more than a passing excrescence on the body of political doctrine. The inalienable right of the State to make war, regulate trade, safeguard the public health, maintain roads and communications, plant colonies, protect the poor, improve the lot of the people, and tax all classes in the most convenient way for the general good, has survived. It has been held in common, with little variation, by Persia, Greece, Rome, France, Venice, the Spanish empire, Germany, the United States, and, in fact, most great nations and empires.

There is no place in modern thought, henceforward, for any conception of the State which is not dynamic. The days have gone for ever when a statesman could express the theory of government in the words, 'Can't you let it alone?' The State is an organism, with certain specific functions. It is not a machine capable of performing all kinds of work; neither is it a half worn-out instrument, the less used the better. Experience has amply proved that there are certain things which the State can do with triumphant success: others at which it can only boggle. The State can legislate, govern, judge, educate, sanitate, and perform many collective acts in fields where private enterprise is impotent. But it is the worst of traders and producers.

The universal experience of civilised mankind

having taught statesmen that private industry is incomparably more productive and successful than public, trade and manufacture have been generally left to the enterprise of individuals. The State, however, has always reserved, and still possesses, the right of controlling commerce, of stepping between trader and trader or master and man, and of passing judgment on both parties in case of dispute. The British State, accordingly, has precisely the same right to control the differences of capital and labour in the twentieth century, and to enforce its decision with penalties, as it had in the time of Elizabeth to put down the turbulence of the London apprentices or to punish cheating tradesmen. The vague assumption of either employers or employed that they have a right to resent the 'interference' of the State, when the State aims to secure fair treatment for the public, proper conditions of living for the workers, or security for the property of investors, is unjustifiable. The State has a perfect right to take action for the general good. This right is as unassailable in the economic as in the political field.

The policy of State Action, or State Activity, therefore, is nothing but a claim that the State shall be free in future to use its prescriptive rights and powers for the public welfare, as it has been in the past, and as foreign states are in the present. Where there is an abuse, the State—like a good king—should remedy it. Where there is injustice, the State should end it. Where there is misery, the State should alleviate it. Where there is wrong, the State should punish it.

Where there is enterprise and industry, the State should foster it.

XIV

Does State Action lead to State Socialism?

The charge may be made by Socialists that State Action necessarily tends to State Socialism. The contention is worthy of notice, for if correct it would be sufficient to damn the doctrine of State Activity. If it be indeed the case that we cannot escape Socialism, but that, on the contrary, all our reforms must lead in that direction, Anti-Socialists may as well retire from the field without delay. It would be foolish to hinder the progress of Socialism if that event is inevitable. If it must positively come, the sooner it comes the better.

But these assumptions, on examination, are found to be only a part of the mock-scientific case which Socialists have fabricated. Socialists themselves must own that, if State Action leads surely to Socialism, it leads with painful slowness. When Nitocris, queen of Babylon, spent a portion of the state resources on canalising the river Euphrates for the profit of the capitalists and wage-workers of the local carpet factories, she was putting in practice the policy of State Action, but State Socialism did not follow. The Elizabethan enactment which provides that work shall be found for the unemployed by the parishes was an instance of State Action in the economic field: the

introduction of the linen industry into Ireland by King William was another; but State Socialism has not yet resulted.

Hence it would appear, if the Socialist contention were sound, that the adoption of the principle of State Activity in all its fullness by the British State to-day, might lead, by slow but certain steps, to the adoption of State Socialism some centuries hence.

It is true, undoubtedly, that State Activity could be turned to Socialist purposes if applied with a complete lack of political judgment, or with a beneficent bias towards Socialist views. Thus the recent Liberal measure to extend small holdings is an example of the State Action which leads towards State Socialism, in that it aims to create a large class of small State tenants—not small freeholders. Under this Act the State ownership of the land will be increased, and private ownership proportionately lessened.

There is one sure guarantee against the perversion of the principle of State Activity. This is to link it firmly with the principle of private property. Private property is the economic rock on which Socialism is doomed to split—not private property confined to a limited class, but private property widely diffused throughout the State. Every application of the principle of State Action should be taken with a view to the creation of an army of small freeholders and capitalists. To do this will be to ring the knell of Socialism. We may safely trust the manual workers, when possessed in large numbers of a real stake in the country, to defend their own. Any step in this direction,

accordingly, will meet with determined opposition from the Socialists.

XV

Progress and Prosperity

The alternative policy which rests on the triple foundation of State Action, Private Property, and Nationalism, need not fear to enter into competition with State Socialism, Public Ownership, and Internationalism.

It is assumed, as a matter of course, that these three positive principles of the alternative policy are to be construed in view of twentieth-century conditions, and not by nineteenth-century lights. 'State Action' does not imply arbitrary interference. 'Private property' carries with it the corollary 'duty and responsibility.' 'Nationalism' does not mean jingoism.

If sheer reaction were the order of the day, there would be no need of an alternative, no call for a scheme of social reformation. The policy of reaction is always the same. Reaction, however, is a growth that does not thrive on English soil. Even in the epoch of the French Revolution it was not the reactionary Anti-Jacobinism of Castlereagh but the intelligent and progressive Anti-Jacobinism of Canning which won the assent of the English people. The same spirit will triumph again, despite the swollen forces of international Socialism.

The new policy is one of progress and prosperity. It seeks to liberate, to educate, and to sanitate; to develop the resources of the Empire; and to bring economic peace to the British nation.

Translated into a programme its clauses would fall naturally under several separate heads—Labour, the Empire, Trade, the Thirteen Millions, Land, Education, and Local Government.

XVI

Labour

The first of all questions before us is the question of Labour, and the first step requisite in the sphere of Labour is the stoppage of strikes and lock-outs by law. It is demanded in the name of the public welfare and in the interest of the unfortunate women and children, who often suffer during trade disputes more severely than the wives and children of combatants in actual war. The strike and the lock-out are relics of barbarism, unfit for the settlement of disputes between compatriots. Employers and employees are equally to blame, and deserve to be visited with the strictest censure of the public.

A new Act of Parliament is required, providing for compulsory arbitration in all trade disputes not settled by mutual agreement, and for the establishment of a permanent Arbitration Court. The Conciliation Act of 1896, and the further conciliation procedure of Mr.

Churchill at the Board of Trade, though steps in the right direction, are of little use because there are no powers of compulsion, without which all such laws would remain dead letters.

At the same time employers and workers should be encouraged to form standing Conciliation Councils, on which both sides should be represented. The recognition of trade union representatives by employers should form a feature of the conciliation system, which would certainly be more effective than the present, in view of the compulsory arbitration procedure waiting in the background. The conciliation system should cover the whole of the country. The arbitration court, to which appeal would lie in the last resort, would sit in London.

Co-Partnership and Co-Operation

All possible encouragement should be given to co-partnership, profit-sharing, co-operative production, and co-operative distribution. All these forms of enterprise, being voluntary associations of workers, or of workers and directors, financed by private capital, and conducted for private profit in open competition with other industrial concerns, are to be highly commended. The strenuous essays of Socialists to demonstrate that these classes of industry are allied to Socialism are futile. If all forms of associated or co-operative effort were allied to Socialism, a limited company or an association of Anti-Socialists would be Socialistic.

Trade Unions

Encouragement and assistance should also be extended to trade unions and friendly societies. These organisations contain the very cream of the manual workers, who have every right to be proud of their administrative success and their great provident funds. The trade unions, which were formerly regarded as the enemies of society, are, on the contrary, the salvation of the workers, and one of the guarantees of national order. They represent a force of self-discipline and self-education whose value cannot be over-rated; and though, like employers' federations, they err on occasions by taking unjust and dictatorial action, they earn the admiration of all who study their working at first hand. The Unionist party neglected a great opportunity when it omitted to remedy the state of affairs brought about by the Taff Vale judgment; and the House of Lords showed great wisdom in approving the Trades Dispute Act when introduced by the Liberals. The principle of the Act—which is simply a limiting of liability, fully in accord with the modern spirit—is perfectly sound and constitutional, and should be extended in other directions.

Old Age, Sickness, and Unemployment

The trade unions and friendly societies should be utilised to the full in a scientific scheme of old age, accident, ill-health, and unemployment insurance. The principle of the present Old Age Pensions' system, which is Socialistic because it is non-contributory, should be rejected. A more extensive but less

expensive plan should be devised, under which the State should pay bounties to the trade unions and friendly societies in proportion to the amounts paid by the members and should make other arrangements for those who are not members of such associations; providing always that the system is applicable to unfortunate members of the middle class. Reference is made to unemployment insurance in Chapter xx.

Guilds of Handicraft

In order to lift trade unions from the position of grievance societies to that of educational institutions, grants should be made to the unions to encourage apprenticeship, advanced technical education, and craftsmanship. The unions should be led to become guilds of handicraft, skilled in the latest and most approved methods. Travelling scholarships should be granted, and technical commissions of trade union members formed to visit other countries and study foreign methods at the expense of the State.

Alien Workers

The importation of alien workers into the country to replace British workers in the event of trade disputes should be forbidden by law. The law on compulsory arbitration would, however, automatically operate in the same direction. The existing law on Alien Immigration should be properly enforced, and the free immigration of undesirable aliens restricted.

XVII

The Land

The land question lies at the basis of what may be called the democratic problem. It is the great test question of politics, and the attitude of any political party towards it will necessarily decide the policy of such a party in other directions. On this question, therefore, attention should be concentrated.

The issue is clear as day. Shall the land be privately owned, or shall it be owned by the State? Political parties must face the issue squarely, and decide to move in one direction or other. Land reform, of one kind or another—Socialistic or Anti-Socialistic—there must be. Any measure which tends to decrease private, and increase public ownership of the land, must tend in the direction of Socialism. Thus any scheme of Land Reform which aims at the creation of a new class of State tenants, and not free-holders—of small holdings, but not small ownings—is distinctly Socialistic. The Liberal Government, in its recent land legislation, has unfortunately taken this fatal step.

There is nothing which the Socialists of Europe fear so much as a peasant proprietary. That tenacious hold of the small owner on the soil, which Zola and other French writers have described so vividly, cannot be shaken by Socialism. M. Clemenceau justly taunted M. Jaurès, the French Socialist leader, with the inability of his party to win over the thrifty,

hardworking, saving peasantry, who cultivate so richly because they own a great part of the soil of France.

The Anti-Socialist maintains that if private industry, inspired by private ownership, is valuable in any form of production, it is most of all valuable in the cultivation of the land. There is no other occupation in which 'hard grafting' is so necessary. Socialistic and Communistic colonies have repeatedly essayed to make agriculture successful on communal ownership principles, and have failed dismally: as witness the Brook Farm experiment, the New Harmony community, the more recent New Australia colony in Paraguay, and numerous other cases. Unless all Western experience counts for nothing, it is certain in advance that the State ownership of land would involve a heavy decrease in productivity.

XVIII

A Scheme of Land Purchase

On the other hand, an extension of the principle of private ownership, by the creation of an army of small owners, would assuredly increase the productivity of the soil. Such an extension is urgently needed, for two reasons. The perilous position of this country, alone among the great nations of the world, in the matter of food supply, demands that every possible step be taken to ensure the better cultivation of the British soil. It is a public scandal that this soil, so noted for its richness and fertility, should be allowed

to go out of proper cultivation. The land which should be packed with cereals and vegetables is becoming a mere prairie. The second reason for the creation of a peasant proprietary is the injustice of refusing to Englishmen and Scotsmen what has already been granted to Irishmen.

Mr. Wyndham's Irish scheme was a sound piece of Anti-Socialist Land Reform. The details of the scheme, however, are incapable of general application to England. We have to start with the basic fact that the English agricultural labourer has little or no capital. He cannot buy land on the instalment system, if it is necessary for him to put down a lump payment at the start. Even having the land, he is destitute of the seed, the implements, and the little capital per acre necessary to cultivate it.

Any scheme which is not adapted to the needs of this particular situation must fail. Further, any scheme of compulsory sale, which incenses the larger landowners and drives them into natural hostility towards the agricultural labourers and small landowners, must be resolutely rejected. Next, it is not advisable that the State should become the owner of land, even in its transitory stage from the large seller to the small buyer.

Most schemes of Land Reform hitherto promoted, fail under one or other of these heads. They either make no provision for capitalising the small owner, without which his position is almost impossible ; or they call for compulsory sale on the part of landlords, and thus do an injustice to one set of owners in

order to benefit another set; or they establish the State (whether directly or through the local authorities) in the position of landowner. On the financial side, most schemes have the disadvantage of fixing the financial liability of the State at the maximum.

The following scheme is submitted as one in which these objections are overcome. It is an outline plan whereby the State, without appearing on the scene as purchaser or owner, helps the citizen to acquire both land and capital, but does not compel any landowner to surrender his property.

Under this scheme the State acts the part, not of mortgagee, but of guarantor. The transaction opens by an agreement between the applicant—or a group of applicants—and the landowner. Plots and prices are settled between the parties, subject to the supervision and approval of a State valuer, whose duty it would be to guard the buyers against the temptation of taking unduly heavy burdens on themselves. The holdings would vary in size from one to thirty acres.

Every applicant would be required to furnish unexceptionable references to his probity and industry. No shirkers, doubtful payers, or men with bad records would be accepted: for the character of the applicants would form the State's security for repayment. Preference would, of course, be given to men with agricultural experience. The references being satisfactory, the State would pay to the landowner selling the land a sum not exceeding £100—and in most cases restricted to twenty, thirty, or forty pounds—as initial payment on account of the purchase. A credit to a

further sum, not exceeding £100, would be paid into a National Land Bank, against which the applicant would draw for seed, implements, stores, and the like. In no case would the applicant be tempted to neglect work by being allowed to draw cash.

Let us take a case. An applicant agrees with a landowner, subject to the approval of a State valuer, for the purchase of a piece of improved land worth £300. The State advances (or guarantees) the initial payment of £60, and the remaining £240 stays out on mortgage. In addition, the State advances (or guarantees) a further sum of £100 as capital. Thus:—

A. Left on mortgage, . . .	£240
B. Initial payment advanced by State,	60
C. Capital advanced by State, . .	100
Total, .	£400

The applicant would thus stand indebted in respect to three items:—

a. The mortgage on the land (held by the original landowner).

b. The initial payment on the land (advanced by the State).

c. The advance of capital (made by the State).

The Land or Credit Bank, under this scheme, would not be a State institution, but a privately financed concern doing business with the State. Now it is obvious that, if the State undertakes to guarantee the applicant to a certain extent, the National Land Bank would willingly assume the whole financial burden.

It would assume, Item *A*, the mortgage, because it would be a perfectly safe financial investment. It would also assume the whole responsibility for Items *B* and *C*, under a State guarantee. Therefore the State, instead of actually advancing any sum up to £100, as initial payment, or a further sum up to £100 as capital, need only guarantee the sums and pay a brokerage to the Bank for the use of the money.

The liability of the Land Bank and the State is as follows:—

LIABILITY OF LAND BANK

Advanced on Mortgage, . . .	£240

LIABILITY OF STATE.

Advanced on initial payment,	£60	
„ capital, . .	100	
Total liability,	——	£160

The difference between this scheme of State Guarantee and the usual scheme of State Mortgage is that under the former the total liability of the State (in the case given) is £160, and the security is the character of the applicant, whereas under the latter the liability of the State is £240, and the security is the land. There is one other vital difference. Under the system of State Guarantee it is possible to plant out a large army of small freeholders; whereas under the latter system it is impossible.

The position of the State valuer in the scheme here outlined is important. He must be equally independent of the Land Bank and the landowner. He must

know the value and character of land in his locality, and be able to check the references of applicants. There is no class of men so eminently suited for the position as the estate agents of the country.

The whole of the amount advanced would, of course, be repayable by the applicant in regular instalments spread over a period of thirty years. Within that period the purchaser would not be allowed to hypothecate the land under any circumstances whatever. The risk of the State would be practically confined to the first two or three years: and a five per cent. fund would probably suffice to cover all cases of default. The scheme may be summed up thus: The State pledges its credit; the applicant pledges his character; the Land Bank advances the money on security; and the State valuer safeguards the bargain.

The actual amounts paid out by the State in cash would only average from £10 to £20 per applicant: a sum of £2,000,000 would suffice to plant out 100,000 freeholders. The whole of the amount would be chargeable to the purchasers, and would have to be repaid by them. The five per cent. default fund, the interest on all advances, and the State valuer's fee would also be charged to the purchasers. They, like honest men, would repay every farthing advanced to them by either the State or the Land Bank. The one great advantage which the State would give them would be the accommodation of easy-purchase terms. For this accommodation their character, if well certified, would be a sufficient pledge.

The economic theory of this scheme is that a man

of good character will work harder for himself, in the acquisition of a piece of land, than for an employer as a hired servant. There is thus a margin between his earnings as a yeoman and his earnings as a labourer or ploughman. This margin is used to liquidate the annual instalments under the deferred-payment scheme.

Only under a system of peasant proprietary can we hope to bring healthy conditions to the land. All who sincerely believe in private property and private effort must, by the logic of their own creed, desire to see the incentive of private ownership fairly applied to the cultivation of the British soil. It is not so applied at present. The number of small landowners, though larger than is supposed, is far too small.

It is not at all desirable that the greater part of the land should be cut up into petty plots as in France: nor is that result to be feared. The happiest, and probably the most prosperous, condition for us would be one of balance evenly maintained between series of large farms of 1000 to 5000 acres, medium farms of 100 to 400 acres, and small farms of 2 to 30 acres.

Given these healthy conditions, we should probably see the soil cultivated to the highest degree, in part by spade, in part by steam-plough. Only in some such circumstances shall we see wheat-growing, dairy-farming, market-gardening, local co-operation, and the most advanced petty culture after the French system, flourish as they might. There is no impediment of climate, soil, or men. It is a libel to say that the British agricultural labourer, farmer, and landowner are not equal to their foreign rivals in capacity. There

is no hindrance but a system: to despair of which is to despair of England itself.

XIX

Housing: House Purchase

Land Purchase has been dealt with at length, as forming the foundation of the system of State Action applied to the extension of private property. It cannot be doubted, however, that all questions of Land Purchase have little more than an academic interest for the great majority of the workers—four-fifths of whom live in towns.

What the plot of land is to the countryman, the house is to the artisan. House purchase was formerly one of the political ideals of the working classes, but it is a remarkable fact that since the Socialist agitation has grown in strength, the house-purchase movement has relaxed. The explanation can be supplied. Socialist and Radical-Socialist leaders, dreading any increase of private ownership among the manual workers, have used their influence to discourage the practice. The result is seen in the curious statistics of building societies printed in the Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom. Whereas we find that savings bank deposits, friendly society funds, and co-operative society funds and sales have greatly increased during the past twenty years—thereby proving that the capital of the workers has grown more rapidly than the capital of the richer classes—it is seen that building society

business, though very considerable, makes comparatively little progress among the working-classes from year to year.

House Purchase

Of all measures calculated to win the working classes away from Socialism, nothing is more likely to have a prompt and permanent effect than a broad scheme of House Purchase.

It will be remembered that Mr. Chamberlain introduced a scheme of House Purchase—it was described at the time as a very moderate one—in the year 1899. Under this Act local authorities were empowered to advance money to tenants desirous of buying their houses. No freehold or leasehold of a higher value than £300 was allowed to be acquired under this measure — an inexplicable proviso which shut the middle classes out of the benefits which the Act was supposed to confer. The Small Dwellings Acquisition Act has not been a success, partly because the procedure was not simple enough from the tenant's point of view, but more so from the fact that it assumed the workman tenant and would-be purchaser to be a capitalist capable of advancing one-fifth—from about £40 to £60—of the total price of the house.

It is proposed that a national system of House Purchase be instituted, and made applicable to all working-class and middle-class dwellings — whether new or not—to the value of not more than £500 freehold. Under the system of State guarantee described in the previous chapter, the would-be purchaser

—if a person of strictly honest and industrious character—would not be required to pay down any sum of money whatever. On his furnishing exemplary references, the State would pay down to the seller of the freehold one-fifth of the purchase price, which would be agreed between buyer and seller, subject to the approval of the State valuer.

The purchaser would repay the State advance, and pay the instalments off the purchase-price, at an agreed rate per annum over a period of fifteen, twenty, or twenty-five years. This would mean, in effect, that the purchaser would not pay more—and on the longer terms less—than his ordinary rent. There would then be a triple advantage. The liability of the State would be reduced to the minimum. The security of the seller (who would hold a mortgage on the property until the completion of the purchase) would be complete: and every industrious householder of the working and middle classes would have the virtual certainty of becoming the owner of his home.

I venture to submit that a measure of House Purchase on some such lines as these would transform a great proportion of the people of this country into freeholders in the space of twenty years; and that the proposal would be received with enthusiasm by the people if incorporated in the Social Reform programme of a great party.

In connection with a scheme of this kind, provision should be made to allow all purchasers fair surrender-value, in the event of their being compelled to part with their freeholds before completion of purchase.

In this way a purchaser who, after paying seven years' out of fifteen years' instalments, should be obliged to move, with his family, from London to Manchester, would obtain a surrender-value certificate in London, and would be able to set it off, for the stated amount, against the purchase of a house at Manchester.

The scheme of House Purchase does not, admittedly, exhaust the great question of Housing Reform. There are many labourers, navvies, and others, whose lives are passed in a state of constant mobility, and who, in consequence, would not be disposed to purchase houses on the instalment system. On their behalf it is essential that there should be a national system of housing reform: but it is equally essential that this system should not be one of State ownership. All large Socialistic and 'Progressive' schemes of building, owning, and letting should be resolutely stopped. On no account must the process of Socialisation be allowed to be carried out by local authorities, no matter how excellent their motives.

The problem, though extensive, is simpler than it looks. There are, as we have seen, two distinct classes of householders among the workers: first, a large class, amounting to about two-thirds, of workers in regular local employ; second, the smaller class of mobile workers who must have facilities for changing domicile from one part of the country to the other. House purchase is required for the first class; reformed tenantry conditions for the other.

It is distinctly inadvisable that any housing scheme should be carried out entirely by local authorities, with-

out the assistance of a special travelling commission of experts appointed by the Government, who would assist municipal authorities to solve local problems in the light of national experience. In cases where it might be found necessary to recommend the building of tenements or workmen's cottages, in order to relieve congestion, uproot slums, and improve the lot of the people, the work should be entrusted to private enterprise, and carried out under public control.

In one part of Housing Reform there should be strict scientific supervision—in the matter of hygiene. Summary powers should be bestowed on public health authorities to deal with cases of over-crowding, unclean lodging-houses and tenements, and the like. Small, smart brigades of efficient cleaners should be organised by the local authorities to engage in a ceaseless war of disinfection and sanitation.

It is almost superfluous to remark on the admirable work of Housing Reform which is now being accomplished by certain private philanthropists, such as Messrs. Cadbury and the organisers of Garden Cities and Suburbs. Such public-spirited undertakings should receive recognition from the State. In all such cases private endeavour could be suitably encouraged by a new system of State reports, under which meritorious schemes should receive the State approval, particulars of the schemes being circulated through the country as an example to others.

XX

The Thirteen Millions

The evils affecting our vast host of thirteen million under-efficients—these 'special recruits' in the army of Labour—are due to four main causes: emigration, through which we have lost a great part of our best working-class stock; casual labour, resulting from bad or cheap trade; mal-education; and the slums, which have been thrown out by our industrial system under a régime of utterly insufficient State control. Drink, and a climate which hardens the healthy but ruins the unfortunate, have made the downfall of men and women more rapid in England than in any other part of the world.

These evils are not without remedy, though the most that can well be hoped is the reduction of the area of misery by one half in one generation. Here State Action is imperative. Private industry not only has not hindered the decline and fall of the thirteen millions, but has been, in part, the cause of the injury. To-day the malady is so terrible, and so extensive, that the State must take prompt and adequate action, or society must slowly succumb to the infection.

It is of the first importance to place an effective embargo on emigration to foreign countries. The folly of sixty years, which has bled the body of British Labour white, must end. No pretensions, no favoured maxim must be allowed to stop the impeding hand of the State, for that which is at stake is the very ex-

istence of the nation. Regard for 'the liberty of the subject' need not restrain our action. The subject's right to liberty within the State cannot imply unconditional right to secede from the State. Such secession is a form of constitutional suicide. The emigrant puts himself out of existence in relation to the State, towards which, nevertheless, he has certain definite duties.

From the point of view of the nation, the loss of the country's manhood is a loss of the most precious part of our capital. The exportation of British coal is a trifle by comparison.

Therefore, urgent as it is to restrict alien immigration, it is of far greater importance to restrict British emigration to foreign countries. It is true that the chief mode of action available here is to divert the stream of emigrants to British colonies, where the stock, if lost to England, is kept in the Empire. This plan is discussed later, and might well prove effective; but the right of checking emigration to foreign countries remains, and should be applied in such degree as might be requisite.

Public Health

This country is only half aroused to the incomparable advantages of a thorough scheme of national sanitation. There should be a Ministry of Public Health charged to devise, organise, and carry out with local help a scientific scheme of hygiene.

This scheme should comprise:

1. The medical inspection and physical development of all children in State and private

schools, where a certain standard should be set and enacted.

2. A national code of regulations as to cleanliness, disease, light, ventilation, and drainage. The code should apply to all tenements, lodging-houses, slums, workhouses, schools, factories, theatres, trains, public vehicles, workrooms, and the like. A staff of medical assistants — in effect, a medical police — should be constantly engaged in waging war against dirt, darkness, and foul air. They should be empowered to enter, cleanse, and disinfect insanitary places; to arrest filthy and disreputable persons, such as are allowed at present to walk freely about the streets polluting all they touch, and swarming with germs; to aid local authorities in times of epidemic; to assist the campaign for the destruction of vermin; and otherwise to take action, under the authority of a board of scientists, as a mobile force operating against all menaces to the public health.

3. The establishment of a State department of hygiene, to devise, investigate, and recommend plans for the physical improvement of the people and the promotion of cleanliness. This department would issue regulations and offer rewards for the preservation of infant life.

The question arises whether the feeding of underfed

school children properly falls within the sphere of State Action, or is one of the pauperising processes of Socialism. It is clear that the State must feed some children—workhouse and hospital children, for example. But it is obvious that, if the State should undertake to feed all children indiscriminately, society must move rapidly towards Socialism. For if all children, why not all women, and if all women, why not all men?

The key to the problem is discrimination. Charity becomes pauperisation when it becomes indiscriminate. If parents are so poor that they cannot feed their children properly, we cannot, in the name of humanity and Christianity, let the children starve. If parents are inhuman or drunken, let the children still be fed —but let the parents be severely punished. The punishment of unworthy parents should take place simultaneously with the feeding of the children: there should be no prolonged interval between the two proceedings. When such parents learn that prompt and certain punishment awaits them for neglecting their families, it is probable that the number of underfed children will decrease by 50 per cent.

The Children

The treatment of children by the State is one of the great test questions of the day. Special schemes of what may be called Child Relief are pressed on local authorities by the Socialists, and, coming from that quarter, are naturally suspected and resisted by

moderate men, who are thrown into anxiety by the conflict between their humane instincts and the dread of pauperising the mass of the people.

The subject is difficult, but the principles involved may be disentangled by careful analysis. We have to recall, first, that the matter is not one affecting the whole working-class, two-thirds of whose members live under fairly healthy and comfortable conditions. It is practically confined to the thirteen millions.

One item of encouragement is the fact that the children of the residue are not, as a whole, so hopeless as their parents. The process of turning out a typical degenerate or under-efficient continues from birth (or from some period before birth) until the age of about twenty-five. If, then, we can arrest that process in childhood, and prevent the subsequent deterioration, the gain is evident.

In the circumstances, it seems absolutely necessary to establish a separate régime for the residual children. They should be carefully weeded out from the State schools and workhouses by the system of medical inspection already discussed, and subjected to a special course of training. Being under-nourished, they must be properly fed. That is the first essential. Further, it is necessary that they should be bathed, exercised, and trained in useful trades and household knowledge, in a special kind of State school. As for 'education' in the ordinary sense, they should have little of it, but that little should be thorough. Let them be taught to read, write, and speak English: the rest must depend entirely on their subsequent improvement.

Unemployment

The problem of unemployment is a concern of Labour, but falls mainly on the class of thirteen million under-efficients. It is beset with peculiar dangers. If we once admit the principle of the Right to Work, we throw open the gates to Socialism. For, once admitted, we must undertake to supply State work for all applicants, and the State must gradually become the universal employer. But, on the other hand, if we absolutely deny all responsibility towards the workless, we drive them to despair and violence, and endanger the State. There is no spectacle so pitiable, and there is none so menacing to society, as that of the willing worker going hungry.

It is equally evident that something must be done, and that that something must not lead towards State ownership. The right to work must be rigorously rejected in principle, and the need of State action must be recognised in practice. As for the pet Socialist project of using the unemployed as State workmen in costly schemes of afforestation, nothing more preposterous could be imagined.

What is urgently required is a State system of dealing with unemployment which will expand and contract with the systole and diastole of the economic life of the community. When I speak of a system I do not refer to such pitiable expedients as that of Mr. Haldane, who first reduced the establishment of the army by twenty thousand men, and then, when unemployment was rife, offered to take twenty thousand men into the army.

Unemployment should never be allowed to reach the procession stage. There should be a system of national, not local, labour offices—for local authorities have not the resources for dealing with so great and mobile a problem. Unemployed workmen should be invited to register, and the first duty of the offices would be that of ordinary labour bureaus—to find work. Labour bureaus, however, are passive concerns, and what is wanted is abnormal activity. Labour officials should be chosen of the 'hustling' type: for the hustler was evidently foreordained to use his superior energy and inferior moral development on behalf of his unemployed fellows. These men should pick and place their men in batches with private employers of labour, as a smart recruiting officer plants his men with the dragoons, the foot-guards, or the line, according to the demand and the quality of the men.

A surplus—in hard times, a large surplus—will remain on the hands of the labour officials. Once again, discrimination must be the key to the problem. One-third of the residue will certainly be shirkers: one-third will probably be willing men, deserving of every help: and the remainder will hover between the two classes. For the downright shirkers, the sturdy vagabonds, and the lazy who have become degenerates, not work, but discipline, is required. It is useless to send these men to labour colonies. They should be put under strict discipline in reformatories. There, fairly well fed, they should be put to arduous physical labour, with shot drill for the worst cases, under the command of ex-non-commissioned officers of the army

and other disciplinarians. They should all be taught company drill and physical exercises, until the beer is sweated from their degenerate systems, and work at a trade seems comparatively easy to them.

For the remaining two-thirds, two courses are open. Even under the system of State Action, certain public works fall within the province of the State. A fund should be set apart for these, and left to accumulate in prosperous times. With the growth of unemployment, the labour market should be automatically relieved by the engagement of a certain number of men on these works. As soon as possible, the numbers should be reduced, as in no circumstances could this form of labour be employed as profitably as in private industry. There would be a loss of probably twenty-five per cent. on every man employed, but that loss would be borne by the accumulated capital of the previous few years, which would then form, in effect, a tax on the employed in prosperous times to maintain the unemployed at bad seasons.

A certain amount of out-relief, granted to men desirous of taking the road to look for work, should also be granted. Out-relief is bad, but it is far preferable to State ownership and industry. It is the less of two evils.

Unemployment Insurance.—Since all schemes, and all expedients, must partake of the nature of a tax on the employed for the benefit of the unemployed, it is desirable to regularise the matter by a national scheme of unemployment insurance, balanced by a tax imposed on the classes which will benefit by it.

So far as trade unionists and friendly societies are concerned, the arrangements should be made, so far as possible, in connection with their organisations. A duty of 2½ to 5 per cent., allocated for the specific purposes of this insurance, and carrying proportionate benefits, should be levied on all wages and salaries paid, either by means of stamps, or in some other simple fashion. The arrangement should apply to all salaries up to £500 a year, in order that the middle-classes should participate equally with the workers. Benefits should be set at a certain minimum, above which all should profit by the scheme according to their contributions.

Thus, to sum up, the policy of State Action in regard to the vast problem of unemployment—a misery the cause of many other miseries—is one which encourages thrift on the part of the worker and severely discourages the tendency to State ownership and industry. The State acts as the friend, but not in general as the employer, of the workers.

Degeneration

The grave question of degeneration, which has so large a place in the problem of the residue, must be faced. The fact cannot be overlooked that—whatever be the cause—a great part of our thirteen million poor consists of inferior human stock, or 'poor white trash.'

Our treatment of this large section, probably amounting to not less than one-third of the thirteen millions, should be at once humane and scientific. We must treat these moral and physical weaklings with kindness; but we must not treat the community with

such unkindness as to suffer degenerates to pollute their fellows and perpetuate their kind.

A new order of reformatory colonies should be established in remote parts of the country—preferably on islands off the coast. Thither should be sent, and there segregated, the weeded-out degenerates from the workhouses, police stations, casual wards, labour bureaus, and the like. The medical police would perform a useful function in arresting the spread of degeneration, as the civil police check the infection of crime. Their task would be no more difficult, and their results are even more needed, for the degenerate and the diseased are more dangerous to society than the criminal. In the interests of the health of the community, we must segregate the unfit.

It cannot be concealed that the success of our policy of Social Reform must turn largely on its application to the Thirteen Millions. This great, and almost appalling, residue is the plague area of the nation, and the weakest spot in the fabric of the Empire. It is a shameful reflection that we have in our midst a vast army of people whose lives are far more wretched than those of the Kaffirs of South Africa, the Indians of North-west Canada, the negroes of Jamaica, the Maoris of New Zealand.

Set one of our typical residuals beside the well-fed Zulu, the Babu graduate, the self-respecting Maori, the martial Soudanese: and what a contrast for Imperialists! Send the deplorable battalions, with their wives and children after them, to march through Whitehall, and what a spectacle of wretchedness and

ruin! Twenty abreast, hurrying by at a rush, the fearful procession would sweep along for four days and nights without a respite: and in all those millions, not one person well clad, not one man well developed in body and mind, not one woman properly fed, not one child happy:—all depressed, all dishevelled, all miserable. Such is the British Residue.

If, to find some remedy for the evils afflicting the Thirteen Millions, it were necessary to break all rules, to cast all maxims to the winds, we should be forced to do so, for the case is desperate. For these evils fiscal reform is of course no remedy. To increase the volume of the national industry, without taking active steps for the uplifting of these unfortunates, would be worse than useless: for the industrial system, operating without due State regulation, is partly the cause of their degeneration.

Happily, it is not necessary to violate one sound principle of government in our treatment of the residue. A great Campaign of Redemption is wholly in accord with the rules of State Action. The case of the Thirteen Millions, though vast, is abnormal: as an abnormality it must be treated. It must, however, be the great care of the State to ensure that, in dealing with the afflicted minority of the workers, the healthy majority are not infected. We must help the Thirteen Million under-efficients: we must not pauperise the twenty-six million efficients. One-third of the workers are sick, and must receive our attention: and that attention must be bestowed through the State, which is the only agency great enough to deal with the

problem. The State, however, must so circumscribe its measures of redemption that the independence of the wholesome two-thirds may not be sapped.

Given sound and energetic administration, there is absolutely no reason why we should drift into the criminal folly of wholesale pauperisation. Confronted with the need of bettering the lot of our workers, we ought not to regard the problem as one, but as two. Freeholds for the main body: redemption for the residue: these are the two counterbalancing parts of the scheme. So long as the majority of the workers are being converted into freeholders, it will clearly be impossible for the treatment of the minority to lead towards Socialism.

XXI

Law, Crime, Debt

It is generally recognised that a great reform in the methods of treating crime and misdemeanour is long overdue. A prison system based on the principle of the infliction of pain for wrongdoing must shortly give way to a new order of purely correctional and preventive treatment. The military governor and the martinet warder are not likely to be superseded while human nature remains what it is; but a large province in penology must be handed over to the control of the medical and criminological expert.

Our legal and punitive system is by no means too severe in all respects: but it is too cumbersome an

instrument for the age, and its awards are too erratic. The codification of the law, an absolutely necessary step, should be put in hand without delay under the control of a commission of jurists. The advantages of the code would be equally great in civil and criminal law—the former being the despair of the commercial community and the latter the grievance of the people. A rankling sense of injustice is left in the minds of the manual workers by the gross discrepancy between the punishments inflicted for one simple offence and another, and even by one court and another. To the residual class, with its narrow outlook, all seems to go by sheer chance.

There is one act of justice and humanity to the people which ought not to be delayed—a reform of the law of debtor and creditor. The barbarities of old-time law, which first made the debtor the slave of the creditor, and later the prisoner of the State, have given place to a depressing form of moral servitude in which great masses of the people exist.

Thirteen hundred thousand persons are summoned into court every year for small debts in England and Wales alone. This means that, out of our present population of 45,000,000, probably no fewer than 3,500,000 or 4,000,000 have been summoned at one time or another. Thus it is possible that a third or a fourth of the adult males of the country are debtors.

The present law is not good for debtors, creditors, or the community. Business firms are led to give credit without due inquiry to persons who cannot

afford to buy their wares, and large numbers of unscrupulous tradesmen make a practice of tempting foolish young men and women to run into debt. A free and fair bargain should always be held sacred when made between responsible persons, but this vicious system cannot be justified. In all cases of granting credit, 'caveat creditor' should be the rule. If he chooses to risk his goods with people whom he does not know, it is not right that he should be allowed to call on the County Court to make good his own unbusinesslike neglect.

The system of payment by instalments—one of the soundest financial systems in the world if properly applied—is grossly abused by a dangerous minority of firms. But the hardship suffered by the people at the hands of such harpies is as nothing compared with the injustice and cruelty of the custom of distraint for rent.

The social reform needed to bring relief to this large and unhappy class of debtors is a limitation of liability. It is not right that any member of the community should be allowed to reduce another to despair, and the law which allows debtors to be imprisoned, or the furniture of working men and women to be seized, is a cruel anachronism. We admit the principle of debtor's right when we refuse to allow a landlord to seize his tenant's bed, or any creditor to deprive an artisan of his tools or a seamstress of her sewing machine. In Texas, on the same principle, no man can be deprived of his horse and saddle, and his last fifty dollars in money.

It would be an incalculable relief to the poor to extend this principle. Every citizen should be entitled to retain inviolate, not only the necessary instruments of his trade or occupation, but the furniture of his house (if in keeping with his position) and a minimum sum of money amounting to not less than ten pounds or more than two months' average income. This limitation of liability would not, of course, abrogate any debt. By way of compensation the law of landlord and tenant should be amended to spare owners the present costly and tedious process of distraint and eviction, by substituting a process of summary ejectment after seven days' notice. As the law stands, the honest but unfortunate tenant may be, and often is, ruined; whereas the tenant who is a thorough rogue bolts his doors, snaps his fingers at the bailiffs, and puts the landlord to heavy expense.

Under the proposed reform landlords would not be able to seize tenants' furniture for overdue rent, but they could promptly regain possession of their property, and sue for the debt in the ordinary way. The effect would probably be to extend the system of paying rent in advance. In the same way, tradesmen would require cash payment or a deposit account. Thus the almost necessary result of this limitation of liability—the veritable Charter of the Poor—would be to improve the position of creditors while saving debtors from beggary.

XXII

The Empire

Thus far, and at this length, the social problems of the Home Country have been considered: for we are in the era of social reconstruction and the condition of the people demands our first attention. Only by settling this question fairly—by conferring independence on the better-class workers and treating the residue population with equal humanity and science—can we clear the way for imperial problems.

But, on the rebound, we cannot settle the condition of the people without reorganising the Empire. We have, in fact, one great problem in two sections: The People—The Empire. Each depends on the other. The Empire cannot be strong unless the people prosper. The People cannot prosper unless the Empire is readjusted.

The Empire, I have said, is our United States. If in making this comparison I could help the British people to realise—as only those can who have lived in that country—the thrilling belief of Americans in their land, their deep faith in the principle of the Union, their matchless energy and superb hopefulness, I should be content.

These are the real resources of the American people. Their land, it is true, is rich. But has the bulk of the earth's wealth been planted by Providence within the artificial boundaries of the United States?

Can we pretend that a great part of our colonial Empire has even been properly prospected?

The United States, which now maintain a population of 80,000,000 with the greatest ease, formerly supported 5,000,000 persons with some difficulty. The country was, in great part, a desert. It is now a fertile expanse. Its known mineral resources, seventy years ago, were not great. The enterprise of Americans has multiplied them. The climate was once the by-word of visitors. American energy has drained the swamps, improved the rivers, destroyed rank vegetation, and made war on malarial insects. To-day the climate is among the best in the world.

Say what we will of American taste, criticise American politics as we may, this at least we cannot gainsay, that since the foundation of the Roman republic, there has been no display of racial energy in the world more sublime than that presented by the American people.

We have, within the British Empire, greater potentialities of wealth, but we have not developed them. We have a wider territory, but we have not peopled it. The Union of the Empire should be as precious to us as the Union of the States was to Abraham Lincoln. But we have not believed in it. For all our clamour of Imperialism, we have neglected the development of the Empire, to engage in a pitiful party struggle.

The nation has been given over to the spirit of faction—condemned by all history, but elevated by us to the height of a principle. Divided against ourselves

in politics and religion—Liberals fighting Conservatives, Churchmen waging war with Nonconformists, Englishmen spending on one another the energies which ought to have been turned on foreign rivals—what wonder that the growth of the Empire has been stunted?

These battles of kites and crows are out of date. We should henceforward make less of the wearisome faction disputes of home politics. Our young men's eyes should be turned from the streets and suburbs of the Home Country to the boundless areas of the great Dominions. Here our population is congested. There the virgin soil cries out for Labour. Here are poverty, care, and unemployment. There are freedom, independence, and a future for millions of families. It is almost incredible that no government, Liberal or Conservative, has ever used its resources freely to colonise the Empire.

Imperial Colonisation

A nation of freemen is our ideal, as it was Beaconsfield's. For the countryman we have outlined a plan of Land Purchase. For the artisan of the towns, a plan of House Purchase. For the colonist, to complete the scheme, we clearly need a great system of Imperial migration.

Details may be briefly discussed. As in House and Land Purchase, the State should act as guarantor for men of excellent character. The great self-governing colonies should be invited to co-operate by the Home Government. On our side, we should engage to supply

honest and industrious men, each with a capital of £20 to £100. This amount would be repayable to the Government on the instalment system, precisely as in the case of House and Land Purchase.

The Dominions would probably welcome an almost unlimited—if a steady—supply of immigrants of this calibre. Their governments should be invited to co-operate in either of two ways: 1. By undertaking to find the immigrant a year's engagement, in order to give him a fair chance of learning the ways of the country; 2. by making a grant of land.

The present more or less haphazard system of emigration is unsatisfactory. The emigrant, landing with little money in his pockets, a stranger in a strange land, is often depressed by unemployment, and disheartened by bad luck or swindling treatment. Help him to tide over the first year, and the rest is easy.

By arrangement with the Dominion governments, special settlements could be planted by batches of families sent out from Home under this scheme. Time-expired men of the army and navy would make excellent colonists, and should be given special facilities.

Imperial Union.—This great scheme of Imperial Colonisation should be only the first step in a series of acts tending towards the Union of the Empire. The object to be achieved is a great one, but nothing less than Imperial Union is desirable, or even safe. We cannot force opinion in the Dominions. But we can influence it; and we can show, by our State acts, that the people have nothing to lose, and all to gain,

by political union with the mother country. In course of time we shall hope to see an Imperial Parliament legislating for the Empire as a whole, and our king seated first among the rulers of the world as the British Emperor.

XXIII

Industry and Commerce

The great principle of State Action in relation to industry is illustrated by so many measures, Liberal and Unionist, that a mental review of the fiscal controversy awakens feelings of amazement and disappointment.

The right of the State to control the conditions of industry is not called in question by either great party. The action is of two kinds: either it is action of a protective and stimulative kind in the joint interests of Capital and Labour; or it is of a protective kind in the special interest of Labour.

The fundamental right of the State is shown in the imposition of taxation to maintain, not only an army and navy for the protection of trade, but a system of consuls who stimulate home commerce by their reports of foreign progress.

The successive Fisheries Acts passed by Conservative and Liberal governments enshrine the principle and practice of State Action, and delimit clearly the frontier between the provinces of private industry and the State. The one provides the initiative, the capital,

the ships, and the labour. The other regulates, protects, and thereby stimulates. Private industry, without the constant fostering care of the State, would languish. The weakening of the State control and regulation would mean the strengthening of the selfish and predatory minority in the industry, which would soon shrink from over-competition and perish in anarchy.

Of State Action taken in the special interests of Labour, both great parties have provided many examples. The Conservative factory, truck, housing, allotment, trade marks, and compensation Acts: the Liberal shipping, mines regulation, trade union, education, and compensation Acts: are complete vindications of the right of the State to regulate industry and social conditions for the particular welfare of the working classes and the general prosperity of the community.

The recent legislation of the Liberal government has amply demonstrated the vitality of the principle. Never, in fact, has State activity been more marked. Reciprocal arrangements for the stimulation of commerce have been made with the United States. New postal rates have been adopted for this specific purpose, with great success. A State-protected attempt is being made to grow tobacco in Ireland; an experiment which could not have been conducted without State help, and may have great consequences. The compensation and shipping Acts have been extended. Last, and most excellent instance of all, Mr. Lloyd George's Patents Act is a brilliant illustration both of

the right of the State to regulate all industry within its borders, and of its unquestionable power to achieve great things which are quite impossible to private enterprise.

It follows logically from this (1) that the principle of State Action for the control, protection, and stimulation of private industry is vital and unimpaired; and (2) that, therefore, the application of this principle at any particular time, or to any particular industry, is a question of expediency.

Fiscal Reform is, obviously, a form of State Action in aid of private industry. The State has the undoubted right to apply, remit, or rearrange its system of import duties, equally with its stamp or excise duties. The only question that arises, therefore, is one of expediency. It is expedient to impose an import duty on this commodity or that? Will the imposition of this import duty benefit trade?

This is the whole question, and the fact that it was ever made the subject of a vast national propaganda is one of the derisory phenomena of British politics. Positively no great distinctive principle was at issue. When the controversy originated, and was precipitated, against Mr. Chamberlain's express desire, into the barren and acrid field of faction politics, the policy of fiscal reform was already in force. An export duty had been placed on coal; a registration duty was levied on imported wheat; State Action had been taken on behalf of West Indian sugar. Fiscal reform was an accomplished fact and the nation was quiescent.

Since then much has happened. While the two

great parties, blinded with passion, were contending over minor issues, a small but ambitious party sprang into the arena challenging the nation on a great social question. That is the real issue before the nation to-day. Fiscal reform is an important feature in the policy of State Action; but it is only a feature. The urgent question which the nation has to decide is whether it will advance in the direction of State Action, or in that of State Socialism. So far as Fiscal Reform is concerned, the great battle is decided; and we have the satisfaction of knowing that we stand just where we stood in 1903—with the full right to take State Action on behalf of private industry and Labour, and the obligation of taking precisely those steps, and those alone, which are expedient.

This problem is by no means the most difficult we have to solve. A readjustment of import and export duties is inevitable, and that readjustment must be of a character to secure more work and higher wages for Labour; but it is clear that England, of all countries, is the least suited to a high protectionist tariff, and that her conditions demand experimental progress. No power on earth—not even a Napoleon—could introduce and maintain a high import tariff here. No statesman in the world—not even the worst—would suddenly impose a wide range of ill-considered duties on a great variety of commodities. The progress of this country under Fiscal Reform can only be experimental: each change adopted must justify itself, and the system must grow by its own merits, frankly and generally recognised by the nation.

The movement of resistance to Socialism comprises both fiscal reformers and free traders. It would be little less than a national disaster if Anti-Socialists, whatever their differences on secondary grounds, failed to present a united front to a bold and persistent enemy, who thrives by their quarrels. As the majority of Unionists and Liberals are uncompromising State Actionists, it would ill become them to let State Socialism secure a foothold while they dispute with passion what particular form of State Action shall be adopted.

XXIV

Public Works

No great State can dispense, or ever has dispensed with public works. In the future, public works will be even more necessary than in the past. But what works?

One salutary result of the Anti-Socialist campaign has been seen in the wave of timidity which has swept over the municipalities. Local authorities, after vowing for fifteen years that retrenchment was impossible, have retrenched. There is an obvious dread of incurring new expenditure, and much confusion prevails as to what course of action is Socialistic, and what is safe. Nothing is more desirable, in these circumstances, than a clear delimitation of the sphere of Public Works in the modern State. There must be obtainable some definite rule of guidance—some index showing

what public works are to be avoided, what should be maintained, in what direction progress is still possible. The present state of general indecision is dangerous, because authorities dread all initiative, and their neglect of necessary steps is likely to produce a reaction in favour of the Socialistic process, which, if costly, is at least active.

Broadly considered, Production is the province of private industry: Regulation is the province of the State. The State, as we have seen, is entitled to liberate, to educate, and to sanitate. It is the right of the State to regulate industry and to bring into being a race of freemen owning their own homes and lands. It is the State's bounden duty to protect the weak and safeguard the public health. It is the State's high prerogative to stimulate and strengthen the intelligence of the people by a system of mental and physical training.

There is one other State function which has been little exercised in England, to the great loss of society. It is one of the foremost duties of the State to preside over what may be styled the public amenities of civil life—the material environment of the people. With the progress of knowledge and taste, it is becoming as important to ensure the architectural fitness of towns and city buildings as to perfect the sewage arrangements.

The modern State, supported out of the increasing produce of private industry, and having at its command the unbounded resources of science, the arts, and rapid communications, is an organism of wonderful power

and precision. It is entitled to control and use all the machinery necessary for its proper operations.

Among the necessary public works of the future will therefore be a greatly extended system of sanitation and hygiene. A ministry of Public Health should be formed, as suggested in a previous chapter, and should have under its immediate control a great department, with a complete system of State laboratories, and a national organisation of medical officers and medical police. Public hospitals should be taken over and managed by the State, together with sanatoria, lunatic asylums, and infirmaries. New sanatoria should be built, port sanitation should be regulated and improved, sewage farms should be managed, and, in general, the ministry should control the network of organisations and authorities now engaged in a dispersed and only half-successful contest with disease and degeneration.

If the first of all concerns, under the system of State Action, is health, the second is education. The Ministry of Education should organise a genuinely national system of education—elementary, secondary, technical, and university—under which every intelligence should be adequately trained.

The vicious system of mal-education which is pursued in our Council schools, without proper control from the central board, should be reformed throughout. For the great majority of elementary schoolboys what is obviously required is a system of manual training, technical education, and physical exercise, with a sound grounding in reading, writing, and speaking.

The practice of teaching poor lads a smattering of botany, physiology, mathematics, physical geography, and a host of other subjects, and turning them out to earn a living as errand boys, packers, and general labourers, is monstrous. It is this kind of artificial top-dressing which makes Socialists.

With respect to seventy-five per cent. of our schoolboys, the object of the training should be to turn out a race of cleanly and healthy men, with a knowledge of some useful trade. Elementary schoolgirls, in like manner, should be taught needlework, cookery, and household management, instead of geography, science, and the like.

The normal intelligences having thus been catered for, full provision should be made for higher intelligences. Under a proper system of free State education, it should be possible for the son of any agricultural labourer or bricklayer to rise to become a graduate in science or art, if possessed of a higher order of intelligence than the ordinary. To this end it is desirable to establish a complete system of home and travelling scholarships.

The State education system should particularly aim at cultivating invention and science. Sound physical training should form a part of every course, from the elementary school to the University.

The State should own and control a complete system of schools, laboratories, and colleges. It is not in the least necessary, however, that the State should take over the great public schools, the colleges, the Church schools, and the private schools, now under

independent control. A certain standard of education should be set, and fair grants should be made to the Church and private schools reaching the required level.

It is important that a ministry of Arts and Sciences should be formed—for an increase in the number of ministries is a necessary result of social progress—to take over the supreme control of architectural arrangements and street planning. General plans should be drawn up under which all buildings erected in the central quarters of important towns should be of a good and consistent order of architecture. Committees of taste and design should be formed in connection with local authorities, and should pass building and improvement plans, subject to the revision of the ministry.

Great public works, in keeping with the dignity of the Imperial Capital, should be carried out in London; not by the County Council, but by the central government. Parliament Square, the imperial forum, calls for completion by the erection of a fine building or buildings on the north side. To improve communications and relieve congestion of traffic, four great thoroughfares should be driven right through the metropolis from north to south, east to west, north-east to south-west, and north-west to south-east. This design has been adopted by British engineers for Khartoum, and it appears to be the best obtainable for rapid and easy communications. The thoroughfares should be connected by two rings of boulevards, an inner and an outer, on the model of the Ringstrasse at Vienna.

The wonderful achievement of Mr. Kiralfy, in erecting a great exhibition city on a tract of vacant land at Shepherd's Bush, within the space of a year, is a signal illustration of the building resources which are now available for the use of the State. That achievement is full of promise for housing reformers. Since the Roman emperors caused cities to spring from the soil by imperial edict, nothing more inspiring in the sphere of construction has been accomplished than this incomparable work. The same energy applied by the State would transform London within ten or fifteen years.

It should further be the special duty of the Ministry of Arts to brighten the lives and environment of the people. Squares should be cleared in the poorer quarters of London and other cities, and military bands should regularly play in them. The street is the drawing-room of the people as well as the road to labour.

The control of the national highways has always been a function of the State. The first step taken by the Romans in organising a new territory was the construction of roads. Unlike most of our highways, their main roads were straight, well-graded, and splendidly made. To this day traffic is impeded in Great Britain by narrow, crooked, and dangerous roads, with short turns and steep inclines. Their surface, in the main, is good, and their aspect is picturesque, but they have always hindered effective communications, and with the advent of motor traffic they have become an anachronism.

In view of the great potentialities of motor traffic for agricultural as well as passenger purposes, it has become a matter of urgency to take the highroads from their present local control and hand them over to a central department of State. By this department the great trunk roads should be widened and strengthened simultaneously: their corners and inclines should be properly graded. Compulsory powers to acquire land for the reformed roads should, of course, be granted.

The construction of these national roads—a most legitimate form of State Action in aid of private industry—would be a boon to the community, and would provide the best form of relief work for times of unemployment. Any quantity of labour, great or small, could be temporarily absorbed: and the men so engaged would not be thrown into competition with private industry at any point. Furthermore, the community would receive the immediate benefit of the labour, since every mile of improved road is a boon to the public. Lastly, there is no prospect of this reform tending towards Socialism: since it does not advance one jot the process of socialising the means of production.

But, it may be argued, if national roads, why not nationalised railroads? The answer is conclusive. The railways are private property, the roads are not. The railways were introduced, and have been greatly extended, by private enterprise. In no conceivable circumstances could the roads, as a whole, be controlled by private enterprise: State property they are and must remain in any order of society. On the point of

efficiency, it cannot be gainsaid that the railways have improved far more rapidly under private enterprise than the roads under public ownership. But as to the ownership of the roads we have no choice: we have only to decide whether national or local control of the system is better and more economic. Thus the Public Works which fall within the rightful province of the State are great and well defined. Apart from the control of the extensive fiscal machinery, the armed services, and the means of national security in general, the functions of the State comprise education, sanitation, and hygiene, the control and extension of private industry and ownership, the maintenance of communications, the regulation of building and town design, and the treatment of the infirm, the hungry, and the vicious. In all these directions progress may be energetically and safely made by the national and local authorities: and such progress tends, not towards Socialism, but away from it.

XXV

Open Careers

For one thing, and that only, we have cause to be grateful to the Socialist movement. It has stirred our reactive energy, and has forced us to justify our social system. It has brought about a campaign of economic education, and has led Anti-Socialists to state their first principles.

The fundamental principle of social value in

Socialism is that 'Labour is the source of all wealth.' The fundamental principle of Anti-Socialism is that 'Intelligence is the determining factor in all values.' Upon this principle our whole system is erected. We maintain that, as a scientific fact, the product of one intelligence may be worth ten, a hundred, or a thousand times as much as another. We hold that wealth far above the average may be rightfully acquired; and, if rightfully acquired, be rightfully accumulated and transmitted; and, further, that no injustice, either moral or economic, is done in principle to the poor by this acquisition, accumulation, and transmission.

This, in fact, is our whole case in condensation. By it we justify the wealth of the manufacturer, the shipowner, and the ground-landlord. If we cannot show some superior economic merit in the accumulation of great possessions, we must admit the Socialist case; and since man's physical powers are limited, the only direction in which great economic worth is possible is that of Intelligence.

But if intelligence is the key of our position, it is clear that we are committed to the support and encouragement of intelligence. If intelligence is valuable in production and commerce, it is even more so in the liberal professions. We are committed by our own doctrine to the principle that the superior intelligence shall have every opportunity to rise to its own level. We can reasonably object to the design of pulling the peer and the capitalist down to the level of the street-sweeper; but we cannot appeal to any good principle in earth or heaven against allowing the

street-sweeper to rise to the level of the peer or the capitalist. To stunt or to kill human intelligence is a crime on a par with killing a child in the womb. The modern nation which neglects to foster the intelligence of its people in every conceivable way will be rightly, swiftly, and irretrievably left behind in the race.

Intelligence pays for everything, expands everything, improves everything. It makes all ways easy, is the one certain means of prosperity, repairs all breaches, and saves from all disasters. A virile and vital intelligence *cannot* be beaten in the battle of life.

If there is one fault above all others which can be charged against us as a nation, it is that, having intelligence, we will neither use it to the full ourselves nor allow others to do so. Our social system is designed to keep people in their places, not to lift them up to higher levels. Our manufacturers do not encourage their men enough; and the men do not stimulate one another or themselves. The employer who stands aloof from his men, and the man who uses his body instead of his head are the two great economic problems of England.

A proper system of technical and business instruction in State schools would help to rear a brisk and active generation, able to use machinery and machine-tools to their utmost. But the State must do far more than provide education: it must set a good example to the country by throwing open all careers. It is fatuous of successive War Ministers to complain that they cannot

get the men they require, when they offer no fair prospects of advancement. We shall never get the army the Empire needs—whether under voluntary service or conscription—until we put a field-marshal's baton in every soldier's knapsack.

One-fourth of all our officers in the Army and Navy should be promoted from the ranks. The Anglican Church—that great imperial Church which can never be loved, admired, or blamed enough for its deserts—should clear itself from the taint of simony by throwing its priesthood open freely to the sons of the working classes, and suppressing the present iniquitous traffic in livings. The higher ranks of the Civil Service at home and the Consular Service abroad should be made more accessible, and the professions of barrister and solicitor should also be laid open to the rising young men of the middle, lower-middle, and working classes. There should be nothing to prevent a country labourer's son, if gifted with sufficient intelligence, from becoming Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, an admiral, a field-marshal, or a prime minister. It is not sufficient to point to the examples of Lord Beaconsfield, Lord Cairns, and Mr. John Burns. We who so rightly and so conclusively prove to the workers how sensitive a thing is capital—how quick to shrink or to emigrate—how easily reduced to stagnation and how hardly resuscitated—should reflect that there is one thing even more sensitive than capital, and that thing human intelligence. This, properly developed, is not only the most profitable but the most secure of all national investments.

XXVI

National and Local Powers

The question of ways and means remains. Granting that these reforms are eminently desirable in the interests of both Capital and Labour, how is the money to be found to pay for them, and by what means are they to be carried out?

The problem of cost cannot be entered into here in detail; but this can safely be said, that the whole alternative policy could be put into effect at a less cost than would be involved in a single item of the Socialist programme—the provision of pensions of ten shillings a week for all persons above fifty years of age.

The first step to Social Reform must be financial retrenchment. The monstrous total of £300,000,000 sterling annually expended by the central and local authorities must be reduced—no matter what clamour may be raised by interested persons. The security of the nation is being undermined by two processes —financial extravagance and social decay. The £300,000,000 of expenditure, and the thirteen million unfortunates of the Residue are complementary.

To retrench, there must be a perquisition. The advent of a government pledged to sound national policy should be the prelude to a great inquiry into all the spending departments, national and local. A new spirit must be infused into each—the spirit that saves farthings. A new control must be main-

tained over all—that of an all-powerful Exchequer with a mandate from the country.

Some indiscreet politicians talk and write lightly of the vast revenues to be raised by fiscal reform. It might be supposed that Great Britain, which already collects a greater amount from import duties than Germany, could easily yield a further twenty millions from the same source. This is not merely heresy, but madness. To superimpose further taxation to the amount of £20,000,000 on the nation, in the actual circumstances, would be to court swift disaster. As the financial situation is growing critical, it is evident that no alternative policy will have even a remote chance of success, unless the steps to realise it—and particularly the early steps—unite extreme caution with boldness.

Even under favourable circumstances, it is doubtful if an additional net revenue of more than ten millions a year at the utmost could be reasonably expected from fiscal readjustment for some time to come. The policy, as we have noted, must prove and justify itself as it proceeds. If any party were to apply a general tariff, and that tariff, while increasing the fiscal burdens of the people, were to be a partial failure, the whole experiment might be extinguished with startling suddenness under a wave of disappointment, resentment, and irritation.

The only other means of raising revenue for the alternative policy is the imposition of further taxation on the rich. The theory of supertaxing the rich is as unsound as the practice is vicious. To tax Capital for

the benefit of Labour seems fatally easy. Nothing would be simpler if the rich hoarded their capital in bullion, but as they keep it in the form of investment, the taxation of Capital is a levy on Labour. There are three safe and simple rules for Chancellors: to tax all according to their means; to raise the taxes in the least inconvenient way; and to restrict public expenditure in proportion to the national income.

But there is one fatal obstacle to retrenchment. There are now two administrative powers in the country —the national and the local. Where formerly the national government spent a pound, and the local authorities ten shillings, the one now spends two pounds and the other fifty shillings. By this ruinous competition in spending the public funds, both parties have involved themselves in a guilty complicity. No real reform can be looked for, in these circumstances, until the power of the national government to check expenditure is increased, and the power of the municipalities to increase it is restricted.

On its record of the past twenty years, the local government system of the country stands self-condemned. It has been the happy hunting-ground of advertising councillors, faddists, and Socialists; and under the impulsion of the Radical-Socialist 'Progressives,' it has been committed to endless schemes of municipal trading, which are nothing but the actual process of Socialisation under another name.

At all costs, the system must be drastically amended. There can be, of course, no attempt to deprive the municipalities of their just powers; but those powers

are subordinate to the authority of the Imperial Government, and, in the light of past experience, they need readjustment.

One of the most important steps which ought to be undertaken by the next Government is the passing of a new Local Government Act. Under this Act, the power of local authorities to levy rates should be limited. The limit might be set at 7s. 6d. in the pound, and should automatically decline, within seven years, to 6s. 8d. in the pound. No local authority should have power to levy rates, above the fixed limit, for any purpose whatever.

The system of Grants-in-Aid should be simultaneously readjusted. A new scheme of Grants should be drafted, under which municipalities should benefit in proportion to their success in conducting their legitimate operations. In the event of councils displaying improvidence or extravagance, the Grants should automatically decrease. In this way well-conducted municipalities would earn good Grants, and so reduce the rates required locally; whereas neglectful or wasteful councils would be compelled to call on the local ratepayers for double levies, by which their own incompetence would be advertised and their dismissal ensured. The powers of all authorities to borrow money or hypothecate any part of their revenues for the purchase of productive or distributive businesses, should be reduced to the minimum. The municipalities, like the national Government, should regulate, but not produce.

London calls for special treatment in the scheme of

local government. Its County Council has exhibited in a marked degree the vicious tendency towards hostility to the central government, which has been repeatedly observed in our study of Continental Socialism. It will continue to do so—to agitate for larger powers and a larger membership, and to prefer its insolent demand for the control of the police—if it is allowed to remain as an administrative base for the Socialistic movement.

There is no room for two rival Parliaments in London. London is an imperial city. London, as a residential and industrial centre, has no local standing, and requires no local powers. As Kensington, Battersea, Greenwich, Islington, it is otherwise. I venture to submit that there is no valid case for the continuance of the London County Council, save as a sanitary and co-ordinating body. It should therefore be reconstituted on a partly-elective, partly-nominative basis. Its superfluous powers should be divided between the Borough Councils and the Local Government Board, reorganised as a Local Government Ministry, and made one of the principal offices of State.

A thorough inquiry into the national and municipal finances would undoubtedly reveal a vast amount of wasted effort, misspent money, overlapping of offices, and sinecurism. Without doing injustice to industrious and loyal public servants—for it is, of course, not they who are on trial, but the system—a complete overhauling of the resources and expenditure of the State should be resolutely and expeditiously conducted. As a result of this perquisition, it should be possible to

reduce the total expenditure of the central and local authorities by twelve to fifteen millions. Thus, with the additional revenue from fiscal readjustment, and allowing for the inevitable deficit at the start, the Government might expect to inaugurate the alternative policy with an annual balance of revenue above expenditure of some twenty millions. For the rest, Ministers must depend wholly on the increased productivity of the country under the new régime, and on the expansion of the national resources through the extension of private ownership and the betterment of the lot of the people.

XXVII

The National Party

Such is the alternative policy, as the conditions of England and of Europe suggest it: for in this outline it has been my aim, not to state predilections, but to interpret movements and arrange a synthesis.

In its broad lines it is a policy of State Action in aid of both Capital and Labour. To Capital it offers security, to Labour advancement, to both prosperity. It aims to make the progress of Socialism impossible by extending private property, and to crown the political progress of a century by the economic liberation of the people. It would accept, but regulate and reform, the industrial system; readjust the fiscal arrangements of the country without violence; and make the State a mighty engine of the popular welfare.

The ideal of the Alternative Policy is that of a race of freeholders in a united Empire—true Imperial Yeomen, with the highest incentive to labour, and a stake in the country worth fighting for. Its method is that of balance between State Action and Private Production—each operating within its province for the advantage of the other.

The community is conceived, in like manner, as a balanced system of three classes—the administrative, the middle, and the working-class—all working loyally in unison; free play being given to every good intelligence to rise from any lower to any higher level, and the rights of each class as a whole being guaranteed by its charters.

It may well be objected that this policy is too extensive to be carried out by any one Parliament, and therefore too heavy a load to be assumed in its entirety by any one party. But it was pointed out at the beginning that the attractiveness of Socialism resides in the fact that it enshrines a conception of society as a whole—not in the expectation that the Socialisation of the means of production will be carried out by one party in the life of a single Parliament. So with the Alternative Policy: it stands for a social system, and is intended to show that there is clear guidance and a consistent course for Anti-Socialists in all the complex problems and situations of the times.

Yet, if it were desired to translate the process of social reconstruction into a practical political programme, it would not be difficult to plan a series of measures, which would appeal to the people with

almost irresistible force in opposition to the attractions of Socialism. Thus:—

A House Purchase Act

(enabling all working-class and middle-class householders to purchase their homes by easy instalments under a system of State guarantee.)

A Small Freeholders' Act

(for agricultural workers, on the same conditions.)

An Imperial Colonisation Scheme

(enabling single or married men to migrate to the dominions and obtain land on advances of money granted by the State.)

State Insurance

(for old age, sickness, and unemployment.)

Fiscal Readjustment

(on an experimental basis, subject throughout to the ratification of the people.)

An Unemployment Scheme

(under which immediate temporary work would be found for the unemployed on national roads.)

Commissions for Rankers

(in Army and Navy.)

Through these reforms one clear, consistent line of principle runs. They form a coherent whole, and if

boldly adopted and steadily pursued would probably give a party a twenty years' lease of political power.

A party. What party? The party which, before all others, has been the party of State Action in the past is the Tory party. The sound English common sense, of which it is the political embodiment, has served it as well as pure prophetic genius: it has divined the fact that the advance of the masses to political liberty is only a prelude to economic improvement, and therefore, as Mr. Balfour has justly observed, it has long been the party of Social Reform, in opposition to the Radical party, with its ideals of drastic political reconstruction.

There is not a single item in the legislative plan of State Action which has not a precedent in the measures of Tory governments from Lord Liverpool's administration, which came into power in 1812, to that of Mr. Balfour who resigned late in 1905.

The Liberal, or rather Liberal-Radical party, on the other hand, is inconsistent, and its present position cannot be maintained. It is balancing between State Action and State Socialism. Having no definite principle of economic progress, it inclines first to one side, then to the other, according to the pressure. In the Patents Act the party favoured State Action: whereas in the Small Holders Act and the Old Age Pensions scheme it veered round to State Socialism. Within its ranks there are, in fact, two parties with distinct and incompatible ambitions—the Liberals, who will stand by private industry to the end, and the

Radicals who already aim at the nationalisation of the land, and are on the friendliest terms with those who desire the Socialisation of capital.

The situation is impossible, from a national as well as a party point of view. The Tory party, though active and fearless, is in a minority of 338 members in the House of Commons; its Liberal, Radical, Socialist-Labour, and Nationalist opponents outnumber it by three to one. The odds are too heavy, and the result of a contest between the opposing forces on this basis might well be the return of a strong Socialist-Labour contingent holding the balance of power.

Neither the Liberal nor the Tory party ought to be subjected to the dangers of such a position. It is for moderate Liberals to decide whether they will be false to their principles in order to be loyal to their party, or true to their country and their creed at the expense of an alliance which cannot in any event be permanent. A Tory and National-Liberal fusion would save the situation, and bring into being the National Party of which both Beaconsfield and Gladstone had visions.

Events, not aspirations, will decide. They are marching rapidly, and the two great European forces, the Socialist and the Anti-Socialist—the movement of aggression and the movement of resistance—the Social Revolution and the Counter-Revolution—are steadily forming into line.

XXVIII

True Social Ideals

Whatever the outcome of the coming conflict may be—whether the expropriation movement subsides as a whole after a crushing defeat, or continues to press forward the process of communisation by Parliamentary methods—it is not by Socialistic means that social salvation will be reached. It is for Anti-Socialists to strive consistently and courageously for freedom, nationality, a strong government, and private property, against internationalism, local democracy, confiscation, and the tyranny of numbers.

The people will not arrive at prosperity by redistributing the present wealth of society, but by developing the abundant resources of their dominions. There are wealth, advancement, and independence for all in the Empire, and nothing is needed to secure the three but intelligence, energy, and unity.

We cannot develop our resources properly under the present system. It is our plain duty to work and fight for the Union of the Empire: and we cannot struggle with success unless we believe in that Union with a faith as high as the Italians who died for United Italy in '59. Nor can we win great victories for petty ends. We who are Anti-Socialist to the core are not striving for a mere party gain, but for the triumph of great principles. It is not on behalf of selfish wealth but in the interest of the people that we contend against Socialism. It is for their sake that we

demand that liberty shall be respected, property shall be secure, and intelligence shall be allowed to rise.

The whole Alternative Policy may be epitomised in a few words. Unite the Empire: develop its resources: strengthen the national government: defend and extend private property: establish a race of freeholders: control public expenditure: improve communications: regulate commerce: protect capital and labour: forbid strikes and lock-outs: encourage invention: save agriculture: educate and sanitate: throw open the professions: redeem the proletariat. All this we can do without wronging any man, dispossessing any citizen of his own, depriving any one of his rightful liberty. We need not break with the past, abrogate the constitution, or abolish institutions long established.

Granting that among the fruits of the present system are the trust and the slum, the hustler and the degenerate, the wasteful rich man and the unemployed workman, the sordid factory town and the reeking pothouse, the millionaire and the propertyless host of toilers—granting all this there is still no valid case for Socialism. Its counsel is a counsel of despair, and its politics are the politics of decadence. The true social ideal is not the barrack but the home; not communal domination but individual effort; not the promiscuous herd but the family; not mob law but the rule of sanity and intelligence.

All these great issues are bound up in the movement for and against the socialisation of the means of production. Every western country is infected with the

social ferment: every modern nation must join the movement of resistance. For some years the struggle will be severe, and even desperate: in some quarters the revolution cannot fail to succeed. And if society hesitates to administer the death-blow to the Socialist serpent its sundered fragments will reunite after the combat and the scourge will return. To save civilisation, Socialism must be destroyed: and the only effective way of destruction is to deprive it of sustenance by remedying the lot and removing the discontent of the people.

APPENDIX

Socialist Expenditure on Organisation and Propaganda

Estimate based on the approximate total expenditure of Independent Labour Party, given in the annual report of the party for 1907.

Independent Labour Party (expenditure by central organisation, branches, and members on organisation, including salaries of organisers and members of Parliament; meetings, conferences, special demonstrations, lectures, debates, reports, propagandist literature, including weekly newspaper, pamphlets, and books, travelling expenses, correspondence, etc.), ...	£75,000
Social Democratic Party, ...	15,000
Socialist Party of Great Britain, Socialist Labour Party, and Industrial Workers of the World, .	1,500
Fabian Society, Church Socialist League, Labour Church, Christian Social Union, Socialist Sunday Schools, Guild of St. Matthew, Women's and Young People's Societies, ...	3,000
Clarion propaganda sales (including weekly newspaper, pamphlets, and books), ...	19,000
Clarion fellowships, vans, and clubs, ...	2,000
Carry forward, ...	£115,500

Brought forward, ...	£115,500
Sales of other Socialist organs and propagandist publications, ...	15,000
Various local Socialist societies, leagues, and federations, ...	4,000
General sales of propagandist publications, not included in foregoing items (including books and pamphlets by private publishers), . . .	15,000
Miscellaneous (special meetings, debates, collections, petitions, demonstrations, etc. etc.), . . .	3,000
Total per annum, . . .	£152,500

Note.—The total expenditure of the Independent Labour Party has since been estimated at £90,000 per annum, an increase of 20 per cent. since 1906-7. Assuming that the expenditure of other Socialist organisations has grown at the same rate, we have an annual expenditure of £183,000.

Only direct expenditure is included in these estimates, which are conservative throughout. No account has been taken of trade union levies to support the Labour Party, or of indirect expenditure. Large sums have been expended on the propaganda of municipal Socialism, as well as on organisations under Socialist influence or control such as the Women's Social and Political Union; but these have not been recorded in the estimate.

It is safe to say that the direct expenditure on Socialist propaganda and organisation in Great Britain is about £200,000 or £250,000 per annum, and that direct and indirect expenditure amounts to about twice this sum, or say £400,000 a year.

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